The Teachings of KARL MARX

BY

V. I. LENIN

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

In the summer of 1914 Lenin lived in the Galician village of Poronino, to which he had removed from Switzerland in order to be nearer the Russian border and so facilitate the constant communication he maintained with his comrades in Russia. He had been assigned an essay on Karl Marx, for the Russian Encyclopædia published by Granat, and in July he began to work on it. But the work was interrupted when, soon after the outbreak of the war, he was arrested by the Austrian authorities as a Russian subject on the suspicion of espionage. After two weeks' imprisonment Lenin was released and permitted to return to Switzerland where he resumed work on the essay, which was, however, not completed until November, because of the pressure of other writings dealing with political and organisational problems arising out of the war.

The article on Marx was published in the Encyclopædia in a greatly abbreviated form, mainly because of the censorship. The sections "Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat" and "Socialism" were omitted altogether, and there were many other excisions and alterations. An English translation of this succinct and lucid exposition of the life and teachings of Karl Marx by his most illustrious follower and interpreter was made from a definitive text supplied by the Lenin Institute in Moscow and first published in its entirety in 1930 in *The Imperialist War*, volume XVIII of Lenin's *Collected Works*, containing his writings of 1914-1915. It is reprinted here in full, including the numerous reference notes prepared by the editor for that volume.

In this essay Lenin quotes extensively from the writings of Marx and Engels. Where reliable English translations were available they were utilised: otherwise they were made for the purpose from the original editions. In general, where books are known to be available in English translation, references to the English titles are given.

A glance at the bibliography compiled by Lenin will show the reader what a small proportion of the essential works of Marx and Engels is available in English. In commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Marx's death (March 14, 1883) an edition of the classics of Marxism, specially translated from the definitive texts and with notes and introductions prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute

in Moscow, is being published this year. By the end of 1933 it is hoped that England will have ceased to be the only country in the world where the works of Marx and Engels are not easily and cheaply obtainable.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that Lenin's essay remains the best existing introduction to the study of Marxism. The mastery with which the revolutionary implications of every aspect of Marxism are presented would have been possible only from one who clearly understood that here was no dogma, no dead body of doctrine, but a living guide to action. Nowhere does the rôle and importance of Lenin as the continuer of the work of Marx and Engels come out more clearly than in this essay, where he so brilliantly sums up that work. The unbreakable connection between Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, and Lenin, who developed Marxism and applied it to capitalism in its last, decaying stage, that of Imperialism, the epoch of wars and revolutions, is here most firmly established.

THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX

By V. I. Lenin

KARL MARX

Karl Marx was born May 5, 1818, in the city of Trier, in the Rhine province of Prussia. His father was a lawyer—a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from the *Gymnasium* in Trier, Marx entered first the University at Bonn, later Berlin University, where he studied jurisprudence, but devoted most of his time to history and philosophy. At the conclusion of his university course in 1841, he submitted his doctoral dissertation on Epicurus's philosophy.[1] Marx at that time was still an adherent of Hegel's idealism. In Berlin he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating from the University, Marx moved to Bonn in the expectation of becoming a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government—that in 1832 had deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair and in 1836 again refused to allow him to teach, while in 1842 it forbade the young professor, Bruno Bauer, to give lectures at the University—forced Marx to abandon the idea of pursuing an academic career. The development of the ideas of Left Hegelianism in Germany was very rapid at that time. Ludwig Feuerbach in particular, after 1836, began to criticise theology and to turn to materialism, which by 1841 had gained the upper hand in his conceptions (*Das Wesen des Christentums* [*The Essence of Christianity*]): in 1843 his *Grundsatze der Philosophie der Zukunft* [*Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*] appeared. Of these works of Feuerbach, Engels subsequently wrote: "One must himself have experienced the liberating effect of these books."[2] "We"

[1] *Differenz der demokritischen und epikureischen Naturphilosophie* [*The Difference between the Natural Philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus*], published by Franz Mehring in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von K. Marx, F. Engels, und F. Lassalle* [*From the Literary Heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, and F. Lassalle*] 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1902, containing abridged reprints and selections from fugitive writings from 1841 to 1850. The doctoral dissertation was published in full in the *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* [*Complete Works of Marx and Engels*], Part I, Vol. 1, Book I, Frankfort a.M., 1927.—*Ed.*

[2] Literally "of this book." In his *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* [English translation available under the title *Ludwig Feuerbach: The Roots of Socialist Philosophy*, Chicago, 1903] Engels speaks only of *Das Wesen des Christentums*.—*Ed.*

(the Left Hegelians, including Marx) "at once became Feuerbachists." At that time the radical bourgeois of the Rhine province, who had certain points of contact with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper, the *Rheinische Zeitung* [*Rhenish Gazette*], which began to appear on January 1, 1842. Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October, 1842, Marx became the paper's editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. As the revolutionary-democratic tendency of the paper under Marx's editorship became more and more pronounced, the government first subjected the paper to double and triple censorship, then ordered its complete suppression on April 1, 1843.[1] At this time Marx was compelled to resign his post as editor, but his resignation did not save the paper, which was forced to suspend publication in March, 1843. Of Marx's larger articles that were published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, besides those indicated below,[2] Engels notes an article on the situation of the peasant wine-growers in the Moselle Valley.[3] Marx's newspaper work revealed to him that he was not sufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he set out to study it diligently.

In 1843 Marx married, in Kreuznach, Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend to whom he had been engaged since his student years. His wife came from a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility. Her elder brother was Prussian Minister of the Interior in one of the most reactionary epochs, 1850-1858. In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical magazine abroad, together with Arnold Ruge (1802-1880; a Left Hegelian; in prison, 1825-1830; a political exile after 1843; a Bismarckian, 1866-1870). Only one issue of this magazine, entitled *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* [*German-French Annals*] *appeared.* It was discontinued owing to the difficulties of distributing the magazine in Germany in a secret way, also due to disagreements with Ruge. In his articles published in that magazine,[4] Marx already appears as a revolutionist, advocating "merciless criticism of everything in existence," particularly "criticism of the weapons," and appealing to the *masses* and to the *proletariat*.

In September, 1844, Friedrich Engels, who from then on was

[1] In the original Russian text erroneously January 1. The decree of the Board of Censors was issued at the end of January, 1843, and the order for suppression was given out on March 31. Marx resigned his post as editor on March 17 or 18.—*Ed.*

[2] See Bibliography at the end of this article.—*Ed.*

[3] See *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, *loc. cit.*—*Ed.*

[4] See *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, *loc. cit.*—*Ed.*

Marx's closest friend, came for a few days to Paris. Both of them took a very active part in the seething life of the revolutionary groups of Paris (where Proudhon's doctrine was then of particular importance; later Marx decisively parted ways with that doctrine in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847). Waging a sharp struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois Socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian Socialism*, otherwise known as Communism (Marxism). For this phase of Marx's activities, see Marx's works of 1844-1848.[1] In 1845, at the insistence of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris as a dangerous revolutionist. From Paris he moved to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society bearing the name *Bund der Kommunisten* [*Communist League*], at whose second congress they took a prominent part (London, November, 1847), and at whose behest they composed the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* which appeared in February, 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new conception of the world; it represents consistent materialism extended also to the realm of social life; it proclaims dialectics as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; it advances the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat as the creator of a new Communist society.

When the February, 1848, Revolution broke out, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris and from there, after the March Revolution, to Cologne, in Germany. From June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* [*New Rhenish Gazette*] was published in Cologne with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new doctrine found excellent corroboration in the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-1849, as it has subsequently been corroborated by all the proletarian and democratic movements of all the countries of the world. Victorious counter-revolution in Germany first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted February 9, 1849), then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). He first went to Paris, from where he was also banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849. He then went to London, where he lived to the end of his days.

The life of an emigrant, as revealed most clearly in the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913),[2] was very hard.

[1] See Bibliography at the end of this article.—*Ed.*

[2] *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx* [*The Correspondence between Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx*], 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1913, edited by Eduard Bernstein and August Bebel.—*Ed.*

Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family. Were it not for Engels' self-sacrifice in rendering financial aid to Marx, he would not only have been unable to complete *Capital*, but would inevitably have perished under the pressure of want. Moreover, the prevailing theories and trends of petty-bourgeois and of non-proletarian Socialism in general forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle, sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt* [*Mr. Vogt*]).[1] Standing aloof from the emigrant circles, Marx developed his materialist doctrine in a number of historical works, giving most of his time to the study of political economy. This science was revolutionised by Marx (see below "Marx's Teaching") in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The period of the revival of democratic movements at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties again called Marx to political activity. On September 28, 1864, the International Working-men's Association was founded in London—the famous First International. Marx was the soul of this organisation, the author of its first "appeal" and of a host of its resolutions, declarations, manifestoes. Uniting the labour movement of the various countries; striving to direct into the channel of united activities the various forms of the non-proletarian, pre-Marxism Socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade unionism in England, Lassallean Right vacillations in Germany, etc.); fighting against the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out the common tactics of the proletarian struggle of the working class—one and the same in the various countries. After the fall of the Paris Commune (1871)—which Marx analysed, as a man of *action*, a revolutionist, with so much penetration, pertinence and brilliance in his work *The Civil War in France*, 1871[2]—and after the International had been split by the Bakuninists, it became impossible for that organisation to keep its headquarters in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872) Marx carried through the transfer of the General Council of the International to New York.[3] The First International had accomplished its historic rôle, giving way to an

[1] Karl Vogt (1817-1895), a German democrat against whom Marx waged a merciless polemic, exposing his connection with Napoleon III.

[2] The title later given to the Address written at the request of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association, and delivered by Marx on May 30, 1871, immediately after the fall of the Paris Commune.—*Ed.*

[3] The International was formally dissolved at its last congress in Philadelphia on July 15, 1876. For a complete account of the origin and activities of the First International see G. Stekloff, *The History of the First International*, New York and London, 1928.

epoch of an infinitely accelerated growth of the labour movement in all the countries of the world, precisely the epoch when this movement grew in *breadth* and *scope*, when *mass* Socialist labour parties were created on the basis of individual national states.

Strenuous work in the International and still more strenuous theoretical activities undermined Marx's health completely. He continued his work on political economy and the completion of *Capital*, collecting a mass of new material and studying a number of languages (for instance, Russian), but illness did not allow him to finish *Capital*.

On December 2, 1881, his wife died. On March 14, 1883, Marx peacefully passed away in his arm-chair. He lies buried beside the graves of his wife and Helene Demuth, their devoted servant and almost a member of the family, at the Highgate Cemetery in London.

MARX'S TEACHING

Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx. Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century, represented respectively by the three most advanced countries of humanity : classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines. The remarkable consistency and unity of conception of Marx's views, acknowledged even by his opponents, which in their totality constitute modern materialism and modern scientific Socialism as the theory and programme of the labour movement in all the civilised countries of the world, make it necessary that we present a brief outline of his world conception in general before proceeding to the chief contents of Marxism, namely, the economic doctrine of Marx.

PHILOSOPHIC MATERIALISM

Beginning with the years 1844-1845, when his views were definitely formed, Marx was a materialist, and especially a follower of Feuerbach ; even in later times, he saw Feuerbach's weak side only in this, that his materialism was not sufficiently consistent and

comprehensive. For Marx, Feuerbach's world-historic and "epoch-making" significance consisted in his having decisively broken away from the idealism of Hegel, and in his proclamation of materialism, which even in the eighteenth century, especially in France, had become "a struggle not only against the existing political institutions, and against . . . religion and theology, but also . . . against every form of metaphysics" (as "intoxicated speculation" in contradistinction to "sober philosophy"). [*Die Heilige Familie*[1] in the *Literarischer Nachlass.*]

> For Hegel—wrote Marx, in the preface to the second edition of the first volume of *Capital*—the thought process (which he actually transforms into an independent subject, giving to it the name of "idea") is the demiurge [creator] of the real. . . . In my view, on the other hand, the ideal is nothing other than the material when it has been transposed and translated inside the human head. [*Capital,* Vol. I.][2]

In full conformity with Marx's materialist philosophy, and expounding it, Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring*[3] (which Marx read in the manuscript):

> The unity of the world does not consist in its existence. . . . The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved . . . by the long and laborious development of philosophy and natural science. . . .[4] Motion is the form of existence of matter. Never and nowhere has there been or can there be matter without motion. . . . Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter. . . .[5] If we enquire . . . what thought and consciousness are, whence they come, we find that they are products of the human brain, and that man himself is a product of nature, developing in and along with his environment. Obviously, therefore, the products of the human brain, being in the last analysis likewise products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature, but correspond to it.[6]

Again: "Hegel was an idealist; that is to say, for him the thoughts in his head were not more or less abstract reflections [in the original: *Abbilder*, images, copies; sometimes Engels speaks of "imprints"] of real things and processes; but, on the contrary, things and their evolution were, for Hegel, only reflections in reality of the Idea that existed somewhere even prior to the world."[7]

In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—in which Engels expounds his own and

[1] *Die Heilige Familie, Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten* [*The Holy Family, Against Bruno Bauer and Co.*], Frankfort a.M., 1845, in the *Literarischer Nachlass*, Vol II, pp. 65-326.—*Ed.*

[2] Preface to second German edition, Eden and Cedar Paul translation, London and New York, 1929, p. 873.

[3] The abridged title of Engels' celebrated work: *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* [*Mr. Eugen Duhring's Revolutionisation of Science*], published first as a series of articles in the Berlin *Vorwärts* during 1877-1878 and issued in book form in 1878.—*Ed.*

[4] *Anti-Duhring*, Stuttgart, 1909, p. 31.—*Ed.*

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.—*Ed.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 22.—*Ed.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 9.—*Ed.*

Marx's views on Feuerbach's philosophy, and which Engels sent to the press after re-reading an old manuscript, written by Marx and himself in 1844-1845, on Hegel, Feuerbach, and the materialist conception of history[1]—Engels writes :

> The great basic question of all, and especially of recent, philosophy, is the question of the relationship between thought and existence, between spirit and nature. . . . Which is prior to the other : spirit or nature ? Philosophers are divided into two great camps, according to the way in which they have answered this question. Those who declare that spirit existed before nature, and who, in the last analysis, therefore, assume in one way or another that the world was created . . . have formed the idealist camp. The others, who regard nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism.[2]

Any other use (in a philosophic sense) of the terms idealism and materialism is only confusing. Marx decidedly rejected not only idealism, always connected in one way or another with religion, but also the views of Hume and Kant, that are especially widespread in our day, as well as agnosticism, criticism, positivism in various forms ; he considered such philosophy as a " reactionary " concession to idealism, at best as a " shamefaced manner of admitting materialism through the back door while denying it before the world."[3] (On this question see, besides the above-mentioned works of Engels and Marx, a letter of Marx to Engels, dated December 12, 1866, in which Marx, taking cognisance of an utterance of the well-known naturalist, T. Huxley, who " in a more materialistic spirit than he has manifested in recent years " declared that " as long as we actually observe and think, we cannot get away from materialism," reproaches him for once more leaving a new " back door'" open to agnosticism and Humeism). It is especially important that we should note Marx's opinion concerning the relation between freedom and necessity : " Freedom is the recognition of necessity. Necessity is blind only in so far as it is not understood " (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*).[4] This means acknowledgment of the objective reign of law in nature and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (at the same time, an acknowledgment of the transformation of the unknown but knowable " thing-in-itself " into the " thing-for-us," of the " essence of things " into " phenomena "). Marx and Engels pointed out the following major shortcomings of the " old " materialism, including Feuerbach's (and, *a fortiori*, the " vulgar " materialism of

[1] See " Marx und Engels über Feuerbach—der erste Teil der deutschen Ideologie," in *Marx-Engels Archiv*, Vol. I, Frankport a.M., pp. 205-306.—*Ed.*
[2] *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Berlin, 1927, p. 27 *ff*.—*Ed.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.—*Ed.*
[4] P. 112.—*Ed.*

Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott; (1) it was "predominantly mechanical," not taking into account the latest developments of chemistry and biology (in our day it would be necessary to add the electric theory of matter); (2) it was non-historical, non-dialectical (was metaphysical, in the sense of being anti-dialectical), and did not apply the standpoint of evolution consistently and all-sidedly; (3) it regarded "human nature" abstractly, and not as a "synthesis" of (definite, concrete-historical) "social relationships"—and thus only "interpreted" the world, whereas it was a question of "changing" it, that is, it did not grasp the significance of "practical revolutionary activity."

DIALECTICS

Marx and Engels regarded Hegelian dialectics, the theory of evolution most comprehensive, rich in content and profound, as the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy. All other formulations of the principle of development, of evolution, they considered to be one-sided, poor in content, distorting and mutilating the actual course of development of nature and society (a course often consummated in leaps and bounds, catastrophes, revolutions).

> Marx and I were almost the only persons who rescued conscious dialectics . . . [from the swamp of idealism, including Hegelianism] by transforming it into the materialist conception of nature. . . .[1] Nature is the test of dialectics, and we must say that science has supplied a vast and daily increasing mass of material for this test, thereby proving that, in the last analysis, nature proceeds dialectically and not metaphysically[2] [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.].

Again, Engels writes:

> The great basic idea that the world is not to be viewed as a complex of fully fashioned objects, but as a complex of processes, in which apparently stable objects, no less than the images of them inside our heads (our concepts), are undergoing incessant changes, arising here and disappearing there, and which with all apparent accident and in spite of all momentary retrogression, ultimately constitutes a progressive development—this great basic idea has, particularly since the time of Hegel, so deeply penetrated the general consciousness that hardly any one will now venture to dispute it in its general form. But it is one thing to accept it in words, quite another thing to put it in practice on every occasion and in every field of investigation.[3]
>
> In the eyes of dialectic philosophy, nothing is established for all time, nothing is absolute or sacred. On everything and in everything it sees the stamp of inevitable decline; nothing can resist it save the unceasing process of formation and destruction, the unending ascent from the lower to the higher—a process of which that philosophy itself is only a simple reflection within the thinking brain.[4]

[1] *Anti-Dühring*, p. xiv.—*Ed.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.—*Ed.*
[3] *Ludwig Feuerbach*, p. 52.—*Ed.*
[4] *Ibid*, p. 18.—*Ed.*

Thus dialectics, according to Marx, is "the science of the general laws of motion both of the external world and of human thinking."[1]

This revolutionary side of Hegel's philosophy was adopted and developed by Marx. Dialectical materialism "does not need any philosophy towering above the other sciences."[2] Of former philosophies there remain "the science of thinking and its laws—formal logic and dialectics."[3] Dialectics, as the term is used by Marx in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of cognition, or epistemology, or gnoseology, a science that must contemplate its subject matter in the same way—historically, studying and generalising the origin and development of cognition, the transition from *non*-consciousness to consciousness. In our times, the idea of development, of evolution, has almost fully penetrated social consciousness, but it has done so in other ways, not through Hegel's philosophy. Still, the same idea, as formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of Hegel's philosophy, is much more comprehensive, much more abundant in content than the current theory of evolution. A development that repeats, as it were, the stages already passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher plane ("negation of negation"); a development, so to speak, in spirals, not in a straight line; a development in leaps and bounds, catastrophes, revolutions; "intervals of gradualness"; transformation of quantity into quality; inner impulses for development, imparted by the contradiction, the conflict of different forces and tendencies reacting on a given body or inside a given phenomenon or within a given society; interdependence, and the closest, indissoluble connection between *all* sides of every phenomenon (history disclosing ever new sides), a connection that provides the one world-process of motion proceeding according to law—such are some of the features of dialectics as a doctrine of evolution more full of meaning than the current one. (See letter of Marx to Engels, dated January 8, 1868, in which he ridicules Stein's "wooden trichotomies," which it is absurd to confuse with materialist dialectics.)

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Realising the inconsistency, the incompleteness, and the one-sidedness of the old materialism, Marx became convinced that it was necessary "to harmonise the science of society with the materialist

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 51.—*Ed.* [2] *Anti-Dühring*, p. 11.—*Ed.* [3] *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

basis, and to reconstruct it in accordance with this basis."[1] If, speaking generally, materialism explains consciousness as the outcome of existence, and not conversely, then, applied to the social life of mankind, materialism must explain *social* consciousness as the outcome of *social* existence. "Technology," writes Marx in the first volume of *Capital*, "reveals man's dealings with nature, discloses the direct productive activities of his life, thus throwing light upon social relations and the resultant mental conceptions."[2] In the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*[3] Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history, in the following words:

> In the social production of the means of life, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will—production relations which correspond to a definite stage of the development of their productive forces. The totality of these production relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which a legal and political superstructure arises and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the material means of life determines, in general, the social, political, and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence, but, conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with existing production relationships, or, what is but a legal expression for the same thing, with the property relationships within which they have hitherto moved. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relationships turn into their fetters. A period of social revolution then begins. With the change in the economic foundation, the whole gigantic superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations we must always distinguish between the material changes in the economic conditions of production, changes which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, æsthetic, or philosophic, in short, ideological forms, in which human beings become conscious of this conflict and fight it out to an issue.
>
> Just as little as we judge an individual by what he thinks of himself, just so little can we appraise such a revolutionary epoch in accordance with its own consciousness of itself. On the contrary, we have to explain this consciousness as the outcome of the contradictions of material life, of the conflict existing between social productive forces and production relationships. . . . In broad outline we can designate the Asiatic, the classical, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois forms of production as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society.[4] [Compare Marx's brief formulation in a letter to Engels, dated July 7, 1866: "Our theory about the organisation of labour being determined by means of production."]

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or, more correctly, the consistent extension of materialism to the domain of social phenomena, obviated the two chief defects in earlier historical theories. For, in the first place, those theories, at best, examined only the ideological motives of the historical activity of human beings

[1] *Ludwig Feuerbach*, p. 36.—*Ed.*
[2] *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 393.—*Ed.*
[3] Chicago, 1904.—*Ed.*
[4] Pp. 11-13.*Ed.*

without investigating the origin of those ideological motives, or grasping the objective conformity to law in the development of the system of social relationships, or discerning the roots of these social relationships in the degree of development of material production. In the second place, the earlier historical theories ignored the activities of the *masses*, whereas historical materialism first made it possible to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses and the changes in these conditions. At best, pre-Marxist " sociology " and historiography gave an accumulation of raw facts collected at random, and a description of separate sides of the historic process. Examining the *totality* of all the opposing tendencies, reducing them to precisely definable conditions in the mode of life and the method of production of the various *classes* of society, discarding subjectivism and free will in the choice of various " leading " ideas or in their interpretation, showing how all the ideas and all the various tendencies, without exception, have their roots in the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism pointed the way to a comprehensive, an all-embracing study of the rise, development, and decay of socio-economic structures. People make their own history ; but what determines their motives, that is, the motives of people in the mass ; what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and endeavours ; what is the sum total of all these clashes among the whole mass of human societies ; what are the objective conditions for the production of the material means of life that form the basis of all the historical activity of man ; what is the law of the development of these conditions—to all these matters Marx directed attention, pointing out the way to a scientific study of history as a unified and true-to-law process despite its being extremely variegated and contradictory.

CLASS STRUGGLE

That in any given society the strivings of some of the members conflict with the strivings of others ; the social life is full of contradictions ; that history discloses to us a struggle among peoples and societies, and also within each nation and each society, manifesting in addition an alternation between periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline—these facts are generally known. Marxism provides a clue which enables us to discover the reign of law in this seeming labyrinth and chaos : the theory of the class struggle. Nothing but the study of the totality of

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the strivings of all the members of a given society, or group of societies, can lead to the scientific definition of the result of these strivings. Now, the conflict of strivings arises from differences in the situation and modes of life of the *classes* into which society is divided.

> The history of all human society, past and present [wrote Marx in 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto;* except the history of the primitive community, Engels added], has been the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf, guild-burgess and journeyman—in a word, oppressor and oppressed—stood in sharp opposition each to the other. They carried on perpetual warfare, sometimes masked, sometimes open and acknowledged; a warfare that invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society or else in the common ruin of contending classes. . . . Modern bourgeois society, rising out of the ruins of feudal society, did not make an end of class antagonisms. It merely set up new classes in place of the old; new conditions of oppression; new embodiments of struggle. Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished by this—that it has simplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly contraposed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Since the time of the great French Revolution, the class struggle as the actual motive force of events has been most clearly manifest in all European history. During the Restoration period in France, there were already a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers) who, generalising events, could not but recognise in the class struggle the key to the understanding of all the history of France. In the modern age—the epoch of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, of representative institutions, of extended (if not universal) suffrage, of cheap daily newspapers widely circulated among the masses, etc., of powerful and ever-expanding organisations of workers and employers, etc.—the class struggle (though sometimes in a highly one-sided, "peaceful," "constitutional" form), has shown itself still more obviously to be the mainspring of events.

The following passage from Marx's *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx demanded of social sciences as regards an objective analysis of the situation of every class in modern society as well as analysis of the conditions of development of every class.

> Among all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. Other classes decay and perish with the rise of large-scale industry, but the proletariat is the most characteristic product of that industry. The lower middle class—small manufacturers, small traders, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors—one and all fight the bourgeoisie in the hope of safeguarding their existence as sections of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they are trying to make the wheels of history turn backwards. If they ever become revolutionary, it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests, but their future interests; they are forsaking their own standpoint, in order to adopt that of the proletariat.

In a number of historical works (see Bibliography), Marx gave brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, an analysis of the position of *each* separate class, and sometimes of that of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how "every class struggle is a political struggle." The above quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and *transitional stages* between one class and another, between the past and the future, Marx analyses in order to arrive at the resultant of the whole historical development.

Marx's economic doctrine is the most profound, the most many-sided, and the most detailed confirmation and application of his teaching.

MARX'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINE

"It is the ultimate aim of this work to reveal the economic law of motion of modern society" (that is to say, capitalist, bourgeois society), writes Marx in the preface to the first volume of *Capital*. The study of the production relationships in a given, historically determinate society, in their genesis, their development, and their decay—such is the content of Marx's economic teaching. In capitalist society the dominant feature is the production of *commodities*, and Marx's analysis therefore begins with an analysis of commodity.

Value

A commodity is, firstly, something that satisfies a human need; and, secondly, it is something that is exchanged for something else. The utility of a thing gives it *use-value*. Exchange-value (or simply, value) presents itself first of all as the proportion, the ratio, in which a certain number of use-values of one kind are exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another kind. Daily experience shows us that by millions upon millions of such exchanges, all and sundry use-values, in themselves very different and not comparable one with another, are equated to one another. Now, what is common in these various things which are constantly weighed one against another in a definite system of social relationships? That which is common to them is that they are *products of labour*. In exchanging products, people equate to one another most diverse kinds of labour. The production of commodities is a system of social relationships in which

different producers produce various products (the social division of labour), and in which all these products are equated to one another in exchange. Consequently, the element common to all commodities is not concrete labour in a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind, but *abstract* human labour—human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, represented in the sum total of values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power. Millions upon millions of acts of exchange prove this. Consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain part of *socially necessary* labour time. The magnitude of the value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour, or by the labour time that is socially requisite for the production of the given commodity, of the given use-value. ". . . Exchanging labour products of different kinds one for another, they equate the values of the exchanged products; and in doing so they equate the different kinds of labour expended in production, treating them as homogeneous human labour. They do not know that they are doing this, but they do it."[1] As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relationship between two persons, only he should have added that it is a relationship hidden beneath a material wrapping.[2] We can only understand what value is when we consider it from the point of view of a system of social production relationships in one particular historical type of society; and, moreover, of relationships which present themselves in a mass form, the phenomenon of exchange repeating itself millions upon millions of times. "As values, all commodities are only definite quantities of congealed labour time."[3] Having made a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labour incorporated in commodities, Marx goes on to analyse the *form of value and of money*. His main task, then, is to study the *origin* of the money form of value, to study the *historical process* of the development of exchange, beginning with isolated and casual acts of exchange ("simple, isolated, or casual value form," in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another), passing on to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and ending with the money form of value, when gold becomes this particular commodity, the universal equivalent. Being the highest product of the development of exchange

[1] *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 47.—*Ed.*
[2] *Critique of Political Economy*, p. 24.—*Ed.*
[3] *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

and of commodity production, money masks the social character of individual labour, and hides the social tie between the various producers who come together in the market. Marx analyses in great detail the various functions of money; and it is essential to note that here (as generally in the opening chapters of *Capital*) what appears to be an abstract and at times purely deductive mode of exposition in reality reproduces a gigantic collection of facts concerning the history of the development of exchange and commodity production.

> Money . . . presupposes a definite level of commodity exchange. The various forms of money (simple commodity equivalent or means of circulation, or means of payment, treasure, or international money) indicate, according to the different extent to which this or that function is put into application, and according to the comparative predominance of one or other of them, very different grades of the social process of production. [*Capital*, Vol. I.][1]

Surplus Value

At a particular stage in the development of commodity production, money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was C.M.C. (commodity—money—commodity); the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another. But the general formula of capital, on the contrary, is M.C.M. (money—commodity—money); purchase for the purpose of selling—at a profit. The designation "surplus value" is given by Marx to the increase over the original value of money that is put into circulation. The fact of this "growth" of money in capitalist society is well known. Indeed, it is this "growth" which transforms money into *capital*, as a special, historically defined, social relationship of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of the circulation of commodities, for this represents nothing more than the exchange of equivalents; it cannot arise out of an advance in prices, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalise one another; and we are concerned here, not with what happens to individuals, but with a mass or average or social phenomenon. In order that he may be able to receive surplus value, "Moneybags must . . . find in the market a commodity whose use-value has the peculiar quality of being a source of value"[2]—a commodity, the actual process of whose use is at the same time the process of the creation of value. Such a commodity exists. It is human labour power. Its use is labour, and labour creates value. The owner of

[1] P. 157.—*Ed.*

[2] *Capital*, Vol I, p. 154.—*Ed.*

money buys labour power at its value, which is determined, like the value of every other commodity, by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (that is to say, the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is to set it to work for the whole day—twelve hours, let us suppose. Meanwhile, in the course of six hours ("necessary" labour time) the labourer produces sufficient to pay back the cost of his own maintenance; and in the course of the next six hours ("surplus" labour time), he produces a "surplus" product for which the capitalist does not pay him—surplus product or surplus value. In capital, therefore, from the viewpoint of the process of production, we have to distinguish between two parts: first, constant capital, expended for the means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), the value of this being (all at once or part by part) transferred, unchanged, to the finished product; and, secondly, variable capital, expended for labour power. The value of this latter capital is not constant, but grows in the labour process, creating surplus value. To express the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, we must therefore compare the surplus value, not with the whole capital, but only with the variable capital. Thus, in the example just given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this relationship, will be 6 : 6, i.e., 100 per cent.

There are two historical prerequisites to the genesis of capital: first, accumulation of a considerable sum of money in the hands of individuals living under conditions in which there is a comparatively high development of commodity production. Second, the existence of workers who are "free" in a double sense of the term: free from any constraint or restriction as regards the sale of their labour power; free from any bondage to the soil or to the means of production in general—i.e., of propertyless workers, of "proletarians" who cannot maintain their existence except by the sale of their labour power.

There are two fundamental ways in which surplus value can be increased: by an increase in the working day ("absolute surplus value"); and by a reduction in the necessary working day ("relative surplus value"). Analysing the former method, Marx gives an impressive picture of the struggle of the working class for shorter hours and of governmental interference, first (from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth) in order to lengthen the working day,

and subsequently (factory legislation of the nineteenth century) to shorten it. Since the appearance of *Capital*, the history of the working-class movement in all lands provides a wealth of new facts to amplify this picture.

Analysing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three fundamental historical stages of the process whereby capitalism has increased the productivity of labour; (1) simple co-operation; (2) division of labour, and manufacture; (3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is shown by the fact that investigations of the so-called "kustar" industry[1] of Russia furnish abundant material for the illustration of the first two of these stages. The revolutionising effect of large-scale machine industry, described by Marx in 1867, has become evident in a number of "new" countries, such as Russia, Japan, etc., in the course of the last fifty years.

But to continue. Of extreme importance and originality is Marx's anaylsis of the *accumulation of capital*, that is to say, the transformation of a portion of surplus value into capital and the applying of this portion to additional production, instead of using it to supply the personal needs or to gratify the whims of the capitalist. Marx pointed out the mistake made by earlier classical political econom (from Adam Smith on), which assumed that all the surplus value which was transformed into capital became variable capital. In actual fact, it is divided into *means of production* plus variable capital. The more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital in the sum total of capital is of immense importance in the process of development of capitalism and in that of the transformation of capitalism into Socialism.

The accumulation of capital, accelerating the replacement of workers by machinery, creating wealth at the one pole and poverty at the other, gives birth to the so-called "reserve army of labour," to a "relative overabundance" of workers or to "capitalist over-population." This assumes the most diversified forms, and gives capital the possibility of expanding production at an exceptionally rapid rate. This possibility, in conjunction with enhanced facilities for credit and with the accumulation of capital in the means of production, furnishes, among other things, the key to the understanding of the *crises* of overproduction that occur periodically in

[1] Small-scale home industry of a predominantly handicraft nature.—*Ed.*

capitalist countries—first about every ten years, on an average, but subsequently in a more continuous form and with a less definite periodicity. From accumulation of capital upon a capitalist foundation we must distinguish the so-called "primitive accumulation": the forcible severance of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasants off the land, the stealing of the communal lands, the system of colonies and national debts, of protective tariffs, and the like. "Primitive accumulation" creates, at one pole, the "free" proletarian: at the other, the owner of money, the capitalist.

The "*historical tendency of capitalist accumulation*" is described by Marx in the following well-known terms:

> The expropriation of the immediate producers is effected with ruthless vandalism, and under the stimulus of the most infamous, the basest, the meanest, and the most odious of passions. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and the handicraftsman], the private property that may be looked upon as grounded on a coalescence of the isolated, individual, and independent worker with his working conditions, is supplemented by capitalist private property, which is maintained by the exploitation of others' labour, but of labour which in a formal sense is free. . . . What has now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working on his own account, but the capitalist who exploits many labourers. This expropriation is brought about by the operation of the immanent laws of capitalist production, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist lays a number of his fellow capitalists low. Hand in hand with this centralisation, concomitantly with the expropriation of many capitalists by a few, the co-operative form of the labour process develops to an ever-increasing degree; therewith we find a growing tendency towards the purposive application of science to the improvement of technique; the land is more methodically cultivated; the instruments of labour tend to assume forms which are only utilisable by combined effort; the means of production are economised through being turned to account only by joint, by social labour; all the peoples of the world are enmeshed in the net of the world market, and therefore the capitalist régime tends more and more to assume an international character. While there is thus a progressive diminution in the number of the capitalist magnates (who usurp and monopolise all the advantages of this transformative process), there occurs a corresponding increase in the mass of poverty, oppression, enslavement, degeneration, and exploitation; but at the same time there is a steady intensification of the wrath of the working class—a class which grows ever more numerous, and is disciplined, unified, and organised by the very mechanism of the capitalist method of production. Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with it and under it. The centralisation of the means of production and the socialisation of labour reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated. [*Capital*, Vol. I.][1]

Of great importance and quite new is Marx's analysis, in the second volume of *Capital*, of the reproduction of social capital, taken as a whole. Here, too, Marx is dealing, not with an individual phenomenon, but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional

[1] Pp. 845-846.—*Ed.*

part of the economy of society, but with economy as a whole. Having corrected the above-mentioned mistake of the classical economists, Marx divides the whole of social production into two great sections: production of the means of production, and production of articles for consumption. Using figures for an example, he makes a detailed examination of the circulation of all social capital taken as a whole—both when it is reproduced in its previous proportions and when accumulation takes place. The third volume of *Capital* solves the problem of how the average rate of profit is formed on the basis of the law of value. An immense advance in economic science is this, that Marx conducts his analysis from the point of view of mass economic phenomena, of the aggregate of social economy, and not from the point of view of individual cases or upon the purely superficial aspects of competition—a limitation of view so often met with in vulgar political economy and in the contemporary "theory of marginal utility." First, Marx analyses the origin of surplus value, and then he goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground-rent. Profit is the ratio between the surplus value and all the capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a "high organic composition" (i.e., with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital to an extent above the social average) yields a below-average rate of profit; capital with a "low organic composition" yields an above-average rate of profit. Competition among the capitalists, who are free to transfer their capital from one branch of production to another, reduces the rate of profit in both cases to the average. The sum total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum total of the prices of all the commodities; but in separate undertakings, and in separate branches of production, as a result of competition, commodities are sold, not in accordance with their values, but in accordance with the *prices of production*, which are equal to the expended capital plus the average profit.

In this way the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalisation of profits is fully explained by Marx in conformity with the law of value; for the sum total of the values of all the commodities coincides with the sum total of all the prices. But the adjustment of value (a social matter) to price (an individual matter) does not proceed by a simple and direct way. It is an exceedingly complex affair. Naturally, therefore, in a society made up of separate producers of commodities, linked

solely through the market, conformity to law can only be an average, a general manifestation, a mass phenomenon, with individual and mutually compensating deviations to one side and the other.

An increase in the productivity of labour means a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. Inasmuch as surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital, and not to its variable part alone) has a tendency to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this tendency and of the circumstances that incline to favour it or to counteract it. Without pausing to give an account of the extraordinarily interesting parts of the third volume of *Capital* that are devoted to the consideration of usurer's capital, commercial capital, and money capital, I shall turn to the most important subject of that volume, the theory of *ground-rent*. Due to the fact that the land area is limited, and that in capitalist countries it is all occupied by private owners, the production price of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production, not on soil of average quality, but on the worst soil, and by the cost of bringing goods to the market, not under average conditions, but under the worst conditions. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or under better conditions) constitutes *differential* rent. Analysing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of variations in the fertility of the individual plots of land and in the extent to which capital is applied to the land, Marx fully exposes (see also the *Theorien uber den Mehrwert* [*Theories of Surplus Value*],[1] in which the criticism of Rodbertus' theory deserves particular attention) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is only obtained when there is a continual transition from better to worse lands. Advances in agricultural technique, the growth of towns, and so on, may, on the contrary, act inversely, may transfer land from one category into the other ; and the famous "law of diminishing returns," charging nature with the insufficiencies, limitations, and contradictions of capitalism, is a great mistake. Moreover, the equalisation of profit in all branches of industry and national economy in general, presupposes complete freedom of competition, the free mobility of capital from one branch to another. But the private ownership of land, creating monopoly, hinders this free mobility. Thanks to this monopoly, the products of agriculture, where a low organic composition of capital prevails, and, consequently,

[1] Edited by Karl Kautsky, 3 vols. Stuttgart, 1905.—*Ed.*

individually, a higher rate of profit can be secured, are not exposed to a perfectly free process of equalisation of the rate of profit. The landowner, being a monopolist, can keep the price of his produce above the average, and this monopoly price is the source of *absolute rent*. Differential rent cannot be done away with so long as capitalism exists; but absolute rent *can* be abolished even under capitalism—for instance, by nationalisation of the land, by making all the land state property. Nationalisation of the land would put an end to the monopoly of private landowners, with the result that free competition would be more consistently and fully applied in the domain of agriculture. That is why, as Marx states, in the course of history the radical bourgeois have again and again come out with this progressive bourgeois demand of land nationalisation, which, however, frightens away the majority of the bourgeoisie, for it touches upon another monopoly that is highly important and "touchy" in our days—the monopoly of the means of production in general. (In a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862, Marx gives a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of average rate of profit and of absolute ground-rent. See *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 111, pp. 77-81; also the letter of August 9, 1862, Vol. III, pp. 86-87). For the history of ground-rent it is also important to note Marx's analysis which shows how rent paid in labour service (when the peasant creates a surplus product by labouring on the lord's land) is transformed into rent paid in produce or rent in kind (the peasant creating a surplus product on his own land and handing this over to the lord of the soil under stress of "non-economic constraint"); then into monetary rent (which is the monetary equivalent of rent in kind, the *obrok* of old Russia, money having replaced produce thanks to the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the place of the peasant has been taken by the agricultural entrepreneur cultivating the soil with the help of wage labour. In connection with this analysis of the "genesis of capitalist ground-rent" must be noted Marx's *profound* ideas concerning the *evolution of capitalism in agriculture* (this is of especial importance in its bearing on backward countries, such as Russia).

The transformation of rent in kind into money rent is not only necessarily accompanied, but even anticipated by the formation of a class of propertyless day labourers, who hire themselves out for wages. During the period of their rise, when this new class appears but sporadically, the custom necessarily develops among the better situated tributary farmers of exploiting agricultural labourers for their own account, just as the wealthier serfs in feudal times used to employ serfs for their own benefit. In this way they gradually acquire

the ability to accumulate a certain amount of wealth and to transform themselves even into future capitalists. The old self-employing possessors of the land thus gave rise among themselves to a nursery for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned upon the general development of capitalist production outside of the rural districts. [*Capital*, Vol. III.][1]

The expropriation of part of the country folk, and the hunting of them off the land, does not merely "set free" the workers for the uses of industrial capital, together with their means of subsistence and the materials of their labour; in addition it creates the home market. [*Capital*, Vol. I.][2]

The impoverishment and the ruin of the agricultural population lead, in their turn, to the formation of a reserve army of labour for capital. In every capitalist country, "part of the rural population is continually on the move, in course of transference to join the urban proletariat, the manufacturing proletariat. . . . (In this connection, the term 'manufacture' is used to include all non-agricultural industry.) This source of a relative surplus population is, therefore, continually flowing. . . . The agricultural labourer, therefore, has his wages kept down to the minimum, and always has one foot in the swamp of pauperism." (*Capital*, Vol I).[3] The peasant's private ownership of the land he tills constitutes the basis of small-scale production and causes the latter to flourish and attain its classical form. But such petty production is only compatible with a narrow and primitive type of production, with a narrow and primitive framework of society. Under capitalism, the exploitation of the peasants "differs from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat only in point of form. The exploiter is the same: capital. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through mortgages and usury, and the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through state taxation" (*Class Struggles in France*).[4] "Peasant agriculture, the smallholding system, is merely an expedient whereby the capitalist is enabled to extract profit, interest, and rent from the land, while leaving the peasant proprietor to pay himself his own wages as best he may." As a rule, the peasant hands over to the capitalist society, i.e., to the capitalist class, part of the wages of his own labour, sinking "down to the level of the Irish tenant—all this on the pretext of being the owner of private property."[5] Why is it that "the price of cereals is lower in countries with a predominance of small farmers than in countries with a capitalist method of production"? (*Capital*, Vol. III.)[6] The answer is that the peasant presents part of his surplus product as a free gift to society (i.e., to the

[1] Chicago, 1909, p. 928.—*Ed.*
[2] New York, 1924 pp. 164-165.—*Ed.*
[3] P. 828.—*Ed.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 163.—*Ed.*
[5] P. 710.—*Ed.*
[6] P. 937.—*Ed.*

capitalist class). " This lower price [of bread and other agricultural products] is also a result of the poverty of the producers and by no means of the productivity of their labour." (*Capital*, Vol. III.)[1] Peasant proprietorship, the smallholding system, which is the normal form of petty production, degenerates, withers, perishes under capitalism.

> Small peasants' property excludes by its very nature the development of the social powers of production of labour, the social forms of labour, the social concentration of capital, cattle raising on a large scale, and a progressive application of science. Usury and a system of taxation must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite dissipation of means of production and an isolation of the producers themselves go with it. [Co-operatives, i.e., associations of small peasants, while playing an unusually progressive bourgeois role, only weaken this tendency without eliminating it; one must not forget besides, that these co-operatives do much for the well-to-do peasants and very little, almost nothing, for the mass of the poor peasants, also that the associations themselves become exploiters of wage labour.] Also an enormous waste of human energy. A progressive deterioration of the conditions of production and a raising of the price of means of production is a necessary law of small peasants' property. [*Capital*, Vol. III.][2]

In agriculture as in industry, capitalism improves the production process only at the price of the " martyrdom of the producers."

> The dispersion of the rural workers over large areas breaks down their powers of resistance at the very time when concentration is increasing the powers of the urban operatives in this respect. In modern agriculture, as in urban industry, the increased productivity and the greater mobility of labour are purchased at the cost of devastating labour power and making it a prey to disease. Moreover, every advance in capitalist agriculture is an advance in the art, not only of robbing the worker, but also of robbing the soil. . . . Capitalist production, therefore, is only able to develop the technique and the combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the foundations of all wealth—the land and the workers. [*Capital*, Vol. I.[3]]

SOCIALISM

From the foregoing it is manifest that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the movement of contemporary society. The chief material foundation of the inevitability of the coming of Socialism is the socialisation of labour in its myriad forms, advancing ever more rapidly, and conspicuously so, throughout the half-century that has elapsed since the death of Marx—being especially plain in the growth of large-scale production, of capitalist cartels, syndicates, and trusts; but also in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and the power of finance capital. The

[1] P. 937.—*Ed.* [2] Pp. 938-939.—*Ed.* [3] Pp. 547-548.—*Ed.*

intellectual and moral driving force of this transformation is the proletariat, the physical carrier trained by capitalism itself. The contest of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, assuming various forms which grow continually richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle aiming at the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialisation of production cannot fail to lead to the transfer of the means of production into the possession of society, to the "expropriation of the expropriators." An immense increase in the productivity of labour; a reduction in working hours; replacement of the remnants, the ruins of petty, primitive, individual production by collective and perfected labour—such will be the direct consequences of this transformation. Capitalism breaks all ties between agriculture and industry; but at the same time, in the course of its highest development, it prepares new elements for the establishment of a connection between the two, uniting industry and agriculture upon the basis of the conscious use of science and the combination of collective labour, the redistribution of population (putting an end at one and the same time to rural seclusion and unsociability and savagery, and to the unnatural concentration of enormous masses of population in huge cities). A new kind of family life, changes in the position of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation, are being prepared by the highest forms of modern capitalism; the labour of women and children, the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism, necessarily assume in contemporary society the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms. Nevertheless,

> . . . large-scale industry, by assigning to women and to young persons and children of both sexes a decisive role in the socially organised process of production, and a role which has to be fulfilled outside the home, is building the new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. I need hardly say that it is just as stupid to regard the Christo-Teutonic form of the family as absolute, as it is to take the same view of the classical Roman form or of the classical Greek form, or of the Oriental form—which, by the by, constitute an historically interconnected developmental series. It is plain, moreover, that the composition of the combined labour personnel out of individuals of both sexes and various ages—although in its spontaneously developed and brutal capitalist form (wherein the worker exists for the process of production instead of the process of production existing for the worker) it is a pestilential source of corruption and slavery—under suitable conditions cannot fail to be transformed into a source of human progress. [*Capital*, Vol. I.][1]

In the factory system are to be found "the germs of the education of the future. . . . This will be an education which, in the case of

[1] P. 529.—*Ed.*

every child over a certain age, will combine productive labour with instruction and physical culture, not only as a means for increasing social production, but as the only way of producing fully developed human beings " (*ibid.*, p. 522). Upon the same historical foundation, not with the sole idea of throwing light on the past, but with the idea of boldly foreseeing the future and boldly working to bring about its realisation, the Socialism of Marx propounds the problems of nationality and the state. The nation is a necessary product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class cannot grow strong, cannot mature, cannot consolidate its forces, except by " establishing itself as the nation," except by being " national " (though by no means in the bourgeois sense of the term ").[1] But the development of capitalism tends more and more to break down the partitions that separate the nations one from another, does away with national isolation, substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonisms. In the more developed capitalist countries, therefore, it is perfectly true that " the workers have no fatherland," and that " united action " of the workers, in the civilised countries at least, " is one of the first conditions requisite for the emancipation of the workers." (*Communist Manifesto.*) The state, which is organised oppression, came into being inevitably at a certain stage in the development of society, when this society had split into irreconcilable classes, and when it could not exist without an " authority " supposed to be standing above society and to some extent separated from it. Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes

> . . . the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class, and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The ancient state was therefore the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labour. [Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,*[2] a work in which the writer expounds his own views and Marx's.]

This condition of affairs persists even in the democratic republic, the freest and most progressive kind of bourgeois state; there is merely a change of form (the government becoming linked up with the stock exchange, and the officialdom and the press being corrupted by direct or indirect means). Socialism, putting an end to classes, will thereby put an end to the state.

[1] *Communist Manifesto.—Ed.*

[2] Chicago, 1902, pp. 208-209.—*Ed.*

The first act, writes Engels in *Anti-Dühring*, whereby the state really becomes the representative of society as a whole, namely, the expropriation of the means of production for the benefit of society as a whole, will likewise be its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state authority in social relationships will become superfluous, and will be discontinued in one domain after another. The government over persons will be transformed into the administration of things and the management of the process of production. The state will not be "abolished"; it will "die out."[1]

The society that is to reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe. [Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.][2]

If, finally, we wish to understand the attitude of Marxian Socialism towards the small peasantry, which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must turn to a declaration by Engels expressing Marx's views. In an article on "The Peasant Problem in France and Germany," which appeared in the *Neue Zeit*,[3] he says:

When we are in possession of the powers of the state, we shall not even dream of forcibly expropriating the poorer peasants, the smallholders (with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in relation to the large landowners. Our task as regards the smallholders will first of all consist in transforming their individual production and individual ownership into co-operative production and co-operative ownership, not forcibly, but by way of example, and by offering social aid for this purpose. We shall then have the means of showing the peasant all the advantages of this change—advantages which even now should be obvious to him.

TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Having discovered as early as 1844-1845 that one of the chief defects of the earlier materialism was its failure to understand the conditions or recognize the importance of practical revolutionary activity, Marx, during all his life, alongside of theoretical work, gave unremitting attention to the tactical problems of the class struggle of the proletariat. An immense amount of material bearing upon this is contained in all the works of Marx and in the four volumes of his correspondence with Engels (*Briefwechsel*), published in 1913. This material is still far from having been collected, organised, studied, and elaborated. This is why we shall have to confine ourselves to the most general and brief remarks, emphasizing the point that Marx justly considered materialism without *this* side to be incomplete,

[1] P. 302.—*Ed.*

[2] Pp. 211-212.—*Ed.*

[3] Vol. XIII, 1, 1894, pp. 301-302. Lenin's reference is to p. 17 of the Russian translation of this article published by Alexeyeva. To this Lenin added the note: "Russian translation with errors."—*Ed.*

one-sided, and devoid of vitality. The fundamental task of proletarian tactics was defined by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialist-dialectical outlook. Nothing but an objective account of the sum total of all the mutual relationships of all the classes of a given society without exception, and consequently an account of the objective stage of development of this society as well as an account of the mutual relationship between it and other societies, can serve as the basis for the correct tactics of the class that forms the vanguard. All classes and all countries are at the same time looked upon not statically, but dynamically; i.e., not as motionless, but as in motion (the laws of their motion being determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). The motion, in its turn, is looked upon not only from the point of view of the past, but also from the point of view of the future; and, moreover, not only in accordance with the vulgar conception of the "evolutionists," who see only slow changes—but dialectically: "In such great developments, twenty years are but as one day—and then may come days which are the concentrated essence of twenty years," wrote Marx to Engels (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 127). At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of these objectively unavoidable dialectics of human history, utilising, on the one hand, the phases of political stagnation, when things are moving at a snail's pace along the road of the so-called "peaceful" development, to increase the class consciousness, strength, and fighting capacity of the most advanced class; on the other hand, conducting this work in the direction of the "final aims" of the movement of this class, cultivating in it the faculty for the practical performance of great tasks in great days that are the "concentrated essence of twenty years." Two of Marx's arguments are of especial importance in this connection: one of these is in the *Poverty of Philosophy*, and relates to the industrial struggle and to the industrial organisations of the proletariat; the other is in the *Communist Manifesto*, and relates to the proletariat's political tasks. The former runs as follows:

> The great industry masses together in a single place a crowd of people unknown to each other. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of their wages, this common interest which they have against their employer, unites them in the same idea of resistance—combination. . . . The combinations, at first isolated . . . [form into] groups, and, in face of constantly united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more important and necessary for them than the maintenance of wages. . . . In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements necessary for

a future battle. Once arrived at that point, association takes a political character.[1]

Here we have the programme and the tactics of the economic struggle and the trade union movement for several decades to come, for the whole long period in which the workers are preparing for "a future battle." We must place side by side with this a number of Marx's references, in his correspondence with Engels, to the example of the British labour movement; here Marx shows how, industry being in a flourishing condition, attempts are made "to buy the workers" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 136), to distract them from the struggle; how, generally speaking, prolonged prosperity "demoralises the workers" (Vol. II, p. 218); how the British proletariat is becoming "bourgeoisified"; how "the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations seems to be to establish a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat side by side with the bourgeoisie" (Vol. II, p. 290); how the "revolutionary energy" of the British proletariat oozes away (Vol. III, p. 124); how it will be necessary to wait for a considerable time "before the British workers can rid themselves of seeming bourgeois contamination" (Vol. III, p. 127); how the British movement "lacks the mettle of the old Chartists" (1866: Vol. III, p. 305); how the English workers are developing leaders of "a type that is half-way between the radical bourgeoisie and the worker" (Vol. IV, p. 209, on Holyoake); how, due to British monopoly, and as long as that monopoly lasts, "the British worker will not budge" (Vol. IV, p. 433). The tactics of the economic struggle, in connection with the general course (and *the outcome*) of the labour movement, are here considered from a remarkably broad, many-sided, dialectical, and genuinely revolutionary outlook.

On the tactics of the political struggle, the *Communist Manifesto* advanced this fundamental Marxian thesis: "Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in their present movement they are also defending the future of that movement." That was why in 1848 Marx supported the Polish party of the "agrarian revolution"—"the party which initiated the Cracow insurrection in the year 1846." In Germany during 1848 and 1849 he supported the radical revolutionary democracy, nor subsequently did he retract what he had then said about tactics. He looked upon the German bourgeoisie as "inclined from the very beginning to betray the people" (only an alliance with the peasantry

[1] *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Chicago, p. 188.—*Ed.*

would have enabled the bourgeoisie completely to fulfil its tasks) "and to compromise with the crowned representatives of the old order of society." Here is Marx's summary account of the class position of the German bourgeoisie in the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—an analysis which, among other things, is an example of materialism, contemplating society in motion, and not looking only at that part of the motion which is directed *backwards.*

> Lacking faith in themselves, lacking faith in the people; grumbling at those above, and trembling in face of those below . . . dreading a world-wide storm . . . nowhere with energy, everywhere with plagiarism . . .; without initiative . . . —a miserable old man, doomed to guide in his own senile interests the first youthful impulses of a young and vigorous people. . . . [*Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* 1848; see *Literarischer Nachlass,* Vol. III, p. 213.]

About twenty years afterwards, writing to Engels under the date of February 11, 1865 (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. III, p. 224), Marx said that the cause of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 was that the bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of having to fight for freedom. When the revolutionary epoch of 1848-1849 was over, Marx was strongly opposed to any playing at revolution (Schapper and Willich, and the contest with them), insisting on the need for knowing how to work under the new conditions, when new revolutions were in the making—quasi-"peacefully." The spirit in which Marx wanted the work to be carried on is plainly shown by his estimate of the situation in Germany during the period of blackest reaction. In 1856 he wrote (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. II, p. 108): "The whole thing in Germany depends on whether it is possible to back the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the peasants' war."[1] As long as the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany was in progress, Marx directed his whole attention, in the matter of tactics of the Socialist proletariat, to developing the democratic energy of the peasantry. He held that Lassalle's action was "objectively a betrayal of the whole working-class movement to the Prussians" (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. III, p. 210), among other things, because he "was rendering assistance to the junkers and to Prussian nationalism." On February 5, 1865, exchanging views with Marx regarding a forthcoming joint declaration of theirs in the press, Engels wrote (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. III, p. 217): "In a predominantly agricultural country it is base to confine oneself to attacks on the bourgeoisie exclusively in the name of the industrial

[1] This passage with the exception of the words "depends on whether it is possible" was written originally by Marx in English.—*Ed.*

proletariat, while forgetting to say even a word about the patriarchal 'whipping rod exploitation' of the rural proletariat by the big feudal nobility." During the period from 1864 to 1870, in which the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany was being completed, in which the exploiting classes of Prussia and Austria were fighting for this or that method of completing the revolution *from above*, Marx not only condemned Lassalle for coquetting with Bismarck, but also corrected Wilhelm Liebknecht who had lapsed into "Austrophilism" and defended particularism. Marx insisted upon revolutionary tactics that would fight against both Bismarck and "Austrophilism" with equal ruthlessness, tactics which would not only suit the "conqueror," the Prussian junker, but would forthwith renew the struggle with him *upon the very basis* created by the Prussian military successes (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, pp. 134, 136, 147, 179, 204, 210, 215, 418, 437, 440-441). In the famous Address issued by the International Working-men's Association, dated September 9, 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising; but when, in 1871, the uprising actually took place, Marx hailed the revolutionary initiative of the masses with the utmost enthusiasm, saying that they were "storming the heavens" (Letter of Marx to Kugelmann).[1] In this situation, as in so many others, the defeat of a revolutionary onslaught was, from the Marxian standpoint of dialectical materialism, from the point of view of the general course and *the outcome* of the proletarian struggle, a lesser evil than would have been a retreat from a position hitherto occupied, a surrender without striking a blow, as such a surrender would have demoralised the proletariat and undermined its readiness for struggle. Fully recognising the importance of using legal means of struggle during periods of political stagnation, and when bourgeois legality prevails, Marx, in 1877 and 1878, when the Exception Law against the Socialists had been passed in Germany, strongly condemned the "revolutionary phrase-making" of Most; but he attacked no less and perhaps even more sharply, the opportunism that, for a time, prevailed in the official Social-Democratic Party, which failed to manifest a spontaneous readiness to resist, to be firm, a revolutionary spirit, a readiness to resort to illegal struggle in reply to the Exception Law (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. IV, pp. 397, 404, 418, 422, and 424; also letters to Sorge).

[1] *Briefe an Kugelmann*, Berlin, Viva, 1927, letter dated April 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARXISM[1]

No complete collection of Marx's works and letters has yet been published.[2] More of Marx's works have been translated into Russian than into any other language. The following enumeration of Marx's writings is arranged chronologically. In 1841 Marx wrote his dissertation on Epicurus's philosophy. (It was included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*, of which more will be said later.) In this dissertation, Marx still completely followed the Hegelian idealist school. In 1842 were written Marx's articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* (Cologne), among them a criticism of the free press debate in the Sixth Rhenish Diet, an article on the laws concerning the stealing of timber, another in defence of divorcing politics from theology, etc. (partly included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*). Here we observe signs of Marx's transition from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to Communism. In 1844, under the editorship of Marx and Arnold Ruge, there appeared in Paris the *Deutsch-Franzosische Jahrbucher*, in which this transition was definitely consummated. Among Marx's articles published in that magazine the most noteworthy are *A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right*[3] (published both in the *Literarischer Nachlass* and as a special pamphlet) and *On the Jewish Question*[4] [likewise in the *Literarischer Nachlass ;* issued as a pamphlet in Russian translation]. In 1845, Marx and Engels jointly published a pamphlet in Frankfort a.M., entitled *Die Heilige Familie : Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten* (included in the *Literarischer Nachlass ;* two Russian editions as pamphlets, St. Petersbury, 1906 and 1907). In the spring of 1845 Marx wrote his theses on Feuerbach (published as an appendix to Friedrich Engels' pamphlet entitled *Ludwig Feuerbach.* [Russian translation available.] In 1845-1847 Marx wrote a number of articles (most of which were not collected, republished, or translated into Russian) in the papers *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* [*German Brussels Gazette*], Brussels, 1847 ; *Westphalisches Dampfboot* [*Westphalian Steamship*], Bielefeld, 1845-1848 ; *Gesellschaftsspiegel* [*Mirror of Society*], Elber-

[1] In this bibliography, Lenin's references to various Russian editions of Marxian writings have been summarised and placed in brackets.—*Ed.*

[2] The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow has begun to issue a definitive edition of the complete works of Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

[3] Reprinted in English in *Selected Essays* by Karl Marx, 1926.—*Ed.*

[4] *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

feld, 1846; and *La Reforme* [*Reform*], Paris, etc. In 1847 Marx wrote his fundamental work against Proudhon, *The Poverty of Philosophy*,[1] a reply to Proudhon's work, *The Philosophy of Poverty*.[2] The book was published in Brussels and Paris (three Russian translations, 1905 and 1906). In 1848 there was published in Brussels the *Speech on Free Trade*[3] (Russian translation available), then in London, in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, translated into nearly all the European languages and into a number of other languages (about eight Russian translations, 1905 and 1906; these editions, most of which were confiscated, appeared under various titles: *Communist Manifesto, On Communism, Social Classes and Communism, Capitalism and Communism, Philosophy of History*; a complete and the most accurate translation of this as well as of other works of Marx will be found in the editions of the Liberation of Labour group issued abroad). From June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published in Cologne with Marx as the actual editor-in-chief. His numerous articles published in that paper, which to this very day remains the best and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat, have not been fully collected and reprinted. The most important of them were included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*. *Wage-Labour and Capital*, published in that paper, has been repeatedly issued as a pamphlet [four Russian translations, 1905 and 1906]; also from the same paper *Die Liberalen am Ruder* [*The Liberals at the Helm*] [St. Petersburg, 1906]. In 1849 Marx published in Cologne *Zwei Politische Prozesse* [*Two Political Trials*]—the text of two speeches delivered by Marx when facing trial on the charge of having violated the press law and having appealed to armed resistance against the government [Russian translations available in five editions, 1905 and 1906]. In 1850 Marx published in Hamburg six issues of the magazine *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; the most important articles published in that magazine were later included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*. Especially noteworthy are Marx's articles republished by Engels in 1895 in a pamphlet entitled *Class Struggles in France*, 1848-1850 [three Russian translations, two of which were issued in St. Petersburg, 1906 and 1912]. In 1852 a pamphlet by Marx was published in New York under the title, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*[4] [Russian translation

[1] Written originally in French under the title *Misère de la Philosophie*.—*Ed.*
[2] *Philosophie de la Misère*.—*Ed.*
[3] An address delivered before the Democratic Association of Brussels, January 9, 1848. New York, 1917.—*Ed.*
[4] Published first by Joseph Weydemeyer in his magazine, *Die Revolution*, New York, 1852.—*Ed.*

available]. In the same year a pamphlet of Marx was published in London under the title *Enthullungen uber den Kommunistenprozess in Koln* [*Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial*] [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906). From August, 1851, until 1862, Marx was a steady contributor to the *New York Tribune*, where many of his articles appeared without signature, as editorials.[1] Most outstanding among these articles are those which were republished after the death of Marx and Engels in a German translation under the title, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*[2] [two Russian translations available in collected works and five as pamphlets, 1905 and 1906]. Some of Marx's articles in the *Tribune* were later published in London as separate pamphlets, as, for instance, the one about Palmerston, published in 1856; *Revelations Concerning the Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century* (revealing the continuous slavish dependence of the English Liberal Ministers upon Russia); and others. After Marx's death, his daughter, Eleanor Aveling, published a number of his *Tribune* articles on the Oriental question as a separate book entitled *The Eastern Question*,[3] London, 1897 [partly translated into Russian, Kharkov, 1919].[4] From the end of 1854 and during 1855 Marx contributed to the paper *Neue Oder-Zeitung* [*New Oder Gazette*], and in 1861-1862 to the Viennese paper, *Presse* [*Press*]. Those articles have not been collected, and only a few of them were reprinted in the *Neue Zeit*, as was also the case with Marx's numerous letters. The same is true about Marx's articles from *Das Volk* [*People*], (London, 1859) concerning the diplomatic history of the Italian War of 1859. In 1859, a book by Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, appeared in Berlin [Russian translations, Moscow, 1896; St. Petersburg, 1907]. In 1860 a book by Marx entitled *Herr Vogt* appeared in London.

In 1864 the *Address of the International Working-men's Association*,[5] written by Marx, appeared in London (Russian translation available). Marx was the author of numerous manifestos, appeals and resolutions of the General Council of the International. This material is far

[1] Engels in his article on Marx in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Vol. VI, p. 603, and Bernstein in his article on Marx in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911, erroneously give the dates 1853-1860. See *Briefwechsel* of Marx and Engels.

[2] The publication of the correspondence between Marx and Engels in 1913 revealed that these articles were written by Engels with Marx's co-operation.—*Ed.*

[3] Many of the articles reproduced in this volume are not by Marx, having been erroneously attributed to him by his daughter.—*Ed.*

[4] In the article as originally published, Lenin stated that this work was "not translated into Russian." In revising the article at a later date, he called attention to the above partial translation. Similar references to later editions will be found elsewhere in this bibliography.—*Ed.*

[5] Generally known as the *Inaugural Address*, since it was delivered at the formal establishment of the First International—*Ed.*

from having been analysed or even collected. The first approach to this work is G. Jaeck's book, *Die Internationale* [*The International*][1] [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906], where, among others, several of Marx's letters and draft resolutions are reproduced. Among the documents of the International that were written by Marx is the Address of the General Council concerning the Paris Commune. The document appeared in 1871 in London in pamphlet form under the title *The Civil War in France* [Russian translations, one edited by Lenin, available]. Between 1862 and 1874 Marx exchanged letters with a member of the International, Kugelmann; this correspondence was later published in a separate edition [two Russian translations, one edited by Lenin]. In 1867 Marx's main work, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. I, appeared in Hamburg. The second and third volumes were published by Engels in 1885 and 1894, after the death of Marx [Russian translations: Vol. I, in five editions; Vols. II and III each in two editions]. In 1876 Marx participated in the writing of Engels' *Herrn Eugen Duhrings Umwalzung der Wissenschaft* (*Anti-Duhring*);[2] he went over the manuscript of the whole work and wrote an entire chapter dealing with the history of political economy.

After Marx's death, the following works of his were published: *The Gotha Program*[3] (published in the *Neue Zeit*, 1890-1891, No. 18; in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906); *Value, Price and Profit*—a lecture delivered[4] on June 26, 1865 (republished in the *Neue Zeit*, XVI, 2, 1897-1898; Russian translations, 1905 and 1906); *Aus dem Literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, three volumes, Stuttgart, 1902 [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1907 and 1908; the letters of Lassalle to Marx, published separately, are included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*]; *Briefe und Auszuge aus Briefen von J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, K. Marx, F. Engels, u. A., an F. A. Sorge und Andere* [*Letters and Excerpts from Letters from J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, K. Marx, F. Engels and Others to F. A. Sorge and Others*][5] [two Russian editions; one translation with a foreword by Lenin]; *Theorien uber den Mehrwert*, three volumes in four parts, Stuttgart, 1905-1910, representing the manuscript of the fourth volume of *Capital* and published by Kautsky [only the first volume translated into Russian; in three editions; St. Petersburg,

[1] Leipzig, 1904.—*Ed.*
[2] An abridged edition of *Anti-Dühring* was published in English under the title *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism*, Chicago, 1907. Marx's chapter on the history of political economy was excluded from this edition. Part of *Anti-Dühring* was published in an enlarged form as a separate pamphlet in English under the title of *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Chicago, 1900.—*Ed.*
[3] New York, 1922.—*Ed.* [4] In English.—*Ed.* [5] Stuttgart, 1906.—*Ed.*

1906; Kiev, 1906 and 1907]. In 1913 four large volumes of the *Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx* appeared in Stuttgart, with 1,386 letters written during the period from September, 1844, to January 10, 1883, and offering a mass of material that is highly valuable for the study of Marx's biography and views. In 1917, two volumes of Marx's and Engels' articles of 1852-1862 appeared in German.[1] This list of Marx's works must be concluded with the remark that many of Marx's smaller articles and letters published, for the most part, in the *Neue Zeit*, the *Vorwarts* [*Forward*], and other Social Democratic periodicals in the German language, have not been enumerated here. Neither can the list of Russian translations pretend to be complete.

The literature on Marx and Marxism is very extensive. Only the most outstanding will be noted here, the authors being divided into three main groups: Marxists, in the main assuming the point of view of Marx; bourgeois writers, in the main hostile to Marxism; and revisionists, who, claiming to accept some fundamentals of Marxism, in reality substitute for it bourgeois conceptions. As a peculiar Russian species of revisionism, the Narodnik attitude toward Marx must be mentioned. Werner Sombart, in his "Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie des Marxismus" ["A Contribution to the Bibliography of Marxism"] (published in the *Archiv fur Socialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* [*Archive for Social Science and Social Politics*], XX, Book 2, 1905, pp. 413-430), gives some three hundred titles in a list that is far from complete. More can be found in the indices to the *Neue Zeit*, 1883-1907 and the following years, also in Joseph Stammhammer's *Bibliographie des Sozialismus und Kommunismus* [*Bibliography of Socialism and Communism*], Vols. I-III, Jena, 1893-1909. For a detailed bibliography of Marxism see also *Bibliographie der Sozialwissenschaften* [*Bibliography of the Social Sciences*], Berlin, 1905, and the following years. See also N. A. Rubakin, *Among Books* [in Russian], Vol. II. We mention here only the most essential bibliographies. On the subject of Marx's biography, attention must be called first of all to Friedrich Engels' articles in the *Volkskalender* [*People's Calendar*], published by Bracke in Braunschweig in 1878 and in the *Handworterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* [*Dictionary of the Political Sciences*], Vol. VI, pp. 600-603. Other works on this

[1] *Gesammelte Schriften von K. Marx und F. Engels*, 1852 *bis* 1862 [*Collected Writings of K. Marx and F. Engels*, 1852 *to* 1862], edited by D. Ryazanov, Berlin, 1917.—*Ed.*

subject are: Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs*, Nuremberg, 1896; [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1906;[1] Lafargue, *Personal Recollections of Karl Marx* (*Neue Zeit*, IX, 1) [in Russian translation], Odessa, 1905;[2] *Karl Marx: In Memoriam*, St. Petersburg, 1908 (Russian collection of articles by J. Nevzorov, N. Rozhkov, V. Bazarov, J. Steklov, A. Finn-Yenotayevsky, P. Rumyantsev, K. Renner, H. Roland-Holst, V. Ilyin, R. Luxemburg, G. Zinoviev, J. Kamenev, P. Orlovsky, M. Tagansky); Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx*. A large biography of Marx, written in English by the American Socialist, Spargo (John Spargo, *Karl Marx, His Life and Work*, London, 1911),[3] is not satisfactory. For a general review of Marx's activities, see Karl Kautsky, *Die historische Leistung von Karl Marx. Zum 25. Todestag des Meisters* [*The Historical Contribution of Karl Marx. On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Master's Death*], Berlin, 1908 [Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1908]; also a popular pamphlet by Clara Zetkin, *Karl Marx und sein Lebenswerk* [*Karl Marx and his Life Work*], 1913. Reminiscences of Marx: those by Annenkov in the *Vestnik Evropy* [*European Messenger*], 1880, No. 4; (also in his *Reminiscences*, Vol. III; *A Remarkable Decade* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1882); those by Carl Schurz in the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* [*Russian Wealth*], 1906, No. 12; those by M. Kovalevsky in the *Vestnik Evropy*, 1909, No. 6, etc.

The best exposition of the philosophy of Marxism and of historical materialism is given by G. V. Plekhanov in his works [all in Russian]: *For Twenty Years*, St. Petersburg, 1909; *From Defence to Attack*, St. Petersburg, 1910; *Fundamental Problems of Marxism*, St. Petersburg, 1908;[4] *Critique of Our Critics*, St .Petersburg, 1906; *On the Question of Developing a Monistic Conception of History*, St. Petersburg, 1908; and others. [In Russian translation]: Antonio Labriola, *Essais sur la conception materialiste de l'histoire*, St. Petersburg, 1898;[5] also his *Historical Materialism and Philosophy*, St. Petersburg, 1906; Franz Mehring, *Ueber historischen Materialismus* [*On Historical Materialism*] [two editions, St. Petersburg, 1906], and *Die Lessing-legende* [*The Lessing Legend*] [St. Petersburg, 1908]; Charles Andler (non-Marxist), *Le manifeste communiste de Karl Marx et F. Engels*,

[1] Chicago, 1901.—*Ed.*
[2] Reprinted in English in *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker and Revolutionist*. New York and London, 1927.—*Ed.*
[3] The original American edition was published in New York, 1909.—*Ed.*
[4] English translation published in New York and London, 1929.—*Ed.*
[5] Chicago, 1904.—*Ed.*

St. Petersburg, 1906. See also *Historical Materialism*, St. Petersburg, 1908, a collection of articles by Engels, Kautsky, Lafargue, and many others [in Russian translation]; L. Axelrod, *Philosophical Sketches. A Reply to Philosophic Critics of Historical Materialism* [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1906. A special defence of Dietzgen's unsuccessful deviations from Marxism is contained in E. Untermann's book, *Die logischen Mangel des engeren Marxismus* [*The Logical Defects of Narrow Marxism*], Munich, 1910, 753 pages (a large but none too earnest book); Hugo Riekes, "Die philosophische Wurzel des Marxismus" [The Philosophical Roots of Marxism"], in the *Zeitschrift fur die gesammte Staatswissenschaft* [*Journal of All Political Sciences*], 1906, Book III, pp. 407-432 (an interesting piece of work of an opponent of the Marxian views showing their philosophical unity from the point of view of materialism); Benno Erdmann, "Die philosophischen Voraussetzungen der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung" [" The Philosophic Assumptions of the Materialist Conception of History"], in the *Jahrbuch fur Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft* (*Schmoller's Jahrbuch*) [*Yearbook for Legislation, Administration and National Economy* (*Schmoller's Yearbook*)], 1907, Book III, pp. 1-56 (a compilation of the philosophical arguments against Marxism; a very useful formulation of some of the basic principles of Marx's philosophic materialism, and a compilation of the arguments against it from the current point of view of Kantianism and agnosticism in general); Rudolph Stammler (Kantian). *Wirtschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauaffssung* [*Economy and Law According to the Materialist Conception of History*], *Leipzig*, 1906, Woltmann (also Kantian), *Historischer Materialismus* [*Historical Materialism*] (in Russian translation, 1901): Vorlënder, *Kant und Marx* [*Kant and Marx*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1909. See also polemics between A. Bogdanov, V. Bazarov and others, on the one hand and V. Ilyin[1] on the other (the views of the former being contained in *Outline of Marxian Philosophy*, St. Petersburg, 1908), A. Bogdanov, *The Fall of the Great Fetishism*, Moscow, 1909, and other works; the views of the latter in his book, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, St. Petersburg, 1909[2] [all in Russian]. On the question of historical materialism and ethics, the outstanding books are: Karl Kautsky, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*,[3] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1906, and numerous other works by

[1] One of Lenin's pen names.—*Ed.*
[2] Published in English as Volume XIII of Lenin's *Collected Works*.—*Ed.*
[3] Chicago, 1913.—*Ed.*

Kautsky; Louis Boudin, *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism*,[1] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1908; Hermann Gorter, *Der historische Materialismus* [*Historical Materialism*], 1909. Of the works of the opponents of Marxism, we wish to point out Tugan-Baranovsky, *Theoretical Foundations of Marxism* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1907; S. Prokopovich, *Critique of Marx* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1901; Hammacher, *Das philosophisch-okonomische System des Marxismus* [*The Philosophic-Economic System of Marxism*], Leipzig, 1910 (730 pp., collection of quotations); Werner Sombart, *Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung im XIX. Jahnhundert* [*Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg; Max Adler (Kantian), *Kausalitat und Teleologie* [*Causality and Teleology*], Vienna, 1909, in *Marx-Studien* [*Marx Studies*], also *Marx als Denker* [*Marx as a Thinker*] by the same author.

The book of an Hegelian idealist, Giovanni Gentile, *La filosofia di Marx* [*The Philosophy of Marx*], Pisa, 1899, deserves attention. The author points out some important aspects of Marx's materialistic dialectics which ordinarily escape the attention of the Kantians, positivists, etc. Likewise: Levy, *Feuerbach*—a work about one of the main philosophic predecessors of Marx. A useful collection of quotations from a number of Marx's works is contained in Chernyshev's *Notebook of a Marxist* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1908. On Marx's economic doctrine, the outstanding books are the following: Karl Kautsky, *The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx*[2] (many Russian editions), Die Agrarfrage [The Agrarian Question], *Das Erfurter Programm*, and numerous pamphlets [all in Russian translation]; Eduard Bernstein, *Die okonomische Lehre von Marx. Der III. Band des Kapital* [*The Economic Doctrine of Marx. The third Volume of Capital*] (in Russian translation, 1905); Gabriel Deville, *Le Capital*, exposition of the first volume of *Capital* (in Russian translation, 1907). A representative of so-called Revisionism among the Marxists, as regards the agrarian question, is E. David, *Sozialismus und Landwirtschaft* [*Socialism and Agriculture*] (in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906). For a critique of Revisionism, see V. Ilyin, *The Agrarian Question*, Part I [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1908. See also books [all in Russian] by V. Ilyin: *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, second edition, St. Petersburg, 1908; *Economic Studies and Articles*, St. Petersburg, 1899; *New*

[1] Chicago, 1907.—*Ed.*

[2] London and New York, 1925.—*Ed.*

Data Concerning the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture, Book I, 1917. An adaptation of Marx's views, with some deviations to the latest data concerning agrarian relations in France, we find in Compère-Morel, *La question agraire et le socialisme en France* [*The Agrarian Question and Socialism in France*], Paris, 1912. Marx's economic views have been further developed by application to the latest phenomena in economic life in Hilferding's *Finanzkapital* [*Finance Capital*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1911 (essential inaccuracies of the author's views on the theory of value have been corrected by Kautsky in an article, " Gold, Papier und Ware " [" Gold, Paper and Commodities "] in the *Neue Zeit*, XXX, 1; 1912, pp. 837 and 886); and V. Ilyin's *Imperialism as the Final Stage of Capitalism* [in Russian], 1917. Deviating from Marxism in essential points are: Peter Maslov's *Agrarian Question*, two volumes, and *Theory of Economic Development*, St. Petersburg, 1910 (both in Russian). A criticism of some of Maslov's deviations may be found in Kautsky's article, " Malthusianismus und Socialismus " [" Malthusianism and Socialism "] in the *Neue Zeit*, XXIX, 1, 1911.

Criticism of the economic doctrine of Marx, from the point of view of the so-called marginal utility theory that is widespread among bourgeois professors, is contained in the following works: Bohm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System*[1] [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1897], and *Kapital und Kapitalzins* [*Capital and Capital Interest*], two volumes, Innsbruck, 1900-1902 [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1909; Riekes, *Wert und Tauschwert* [*Value and Exchange Value*], 1899; von Bortkiewicz, " Wertrechnung und Preisrechnung im Marxschen System " [" Calculation of Value and Calculation of Price in the Marxian System "] (*Archiv fur Sozialwissenschaft*, 1906-1907); Leo von Buch, *Ueber die Elemente der politischen Oekonomie. Die Intensitat der Arbeit, Wert und Preis* [*On the Elements of Political Economy. Intensity of Labour, Value and Price*]. Bohm-Bawerk's critique, analysed from a Marxian point of view by Hilferding in his *Bohm-Bawerks Marx-Kritik* [*Bohm-Bawerk's Criticism of Marx*] (in *Marx-Studien*, Vol. I, Vienna, 1909), and in smaller articles published in the *Neue Zeit*.

On the question of the two main currents in the interpretation and development of Marxism—the so-called revisionism versus radical (" orthodox ") Marxism, see Eduard Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen des*

London, 1898.—*Ed.*

Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie,[1] Stuttgart, 1899 [two Russian translations, St. Petersburg, 1901, and Moscow, 1901] and *Aus der Geschichte und Theorie des Sozialismus* [*From the History and Theory of Socialism*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1902. A reply to Bernstein is contained in Karl Kautsky's *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm* [*Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme*], Stuttgart, 1899 (four Russian editions, 1905 and 1906). Of the French Marxian literature see Jules Guesde's book : *Quatre ans de lutte des classes* [*Four Years of Class Struggle*], *En Garde* [*On Guard*], and *Questions d'aujourd'hui* [*Questions of To-day*], Paris, 1911 ; Paul Lafargue, *Le determinisme economique. La methode historique de Karl Marx* [*Economic Determinism. The Historical Method of Karl Marx*], Paris, 1909 ; Anton Pannekoek, *Zwei Tendenzen in der Arbeiter-bewegung* [*Two Tendencies in the Labour Movement*].

On the question of the Marxian theory of capital accumulation, there is a new work by Rosa Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* [*The Accumulation of Capital*], Berlin, 1913, and an analysis of her incorrect interpretation of Marx's theory by Otto Bauer, " Die Akkumulation des Kapitals " [" The Accumulation of Capital "] (*Neue Zeit*, XXXI, 1, 1913, pp. 831 and 862) ; also by Eckstein in the *Vorwarts* and by Pannekock in the *Bremer Burger-Zeitung* [*Bremen Citizen's Gazette*] for 1913.

Of the old Russian literature on Marxism let us note the following : B. Chicherin, " The German Socialists," in Bezobrazov's *Collection of Political Science*, St. Petersburg, 1888, and *History of Political Doctrines*, part V, Moscow, 1902, p. 156 ; a reply to the above by Ziber, *The German Economists Through Mr. Chicherin's Glasses*, in his *Collected Works*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1900 ; G. Slonimsky, *The Economic Doctrine of Karl Marx*, St. Petersburg, 1898 ; N. Ziber, *David Ricardo and Karl Marx in Their Socio-economic Investigations*, *St. Petersburg*, 1885, and Vol. II of his *Collected Works*, St. Petersburg, 1900. Also J. Kaufmann's (J. K——n) review of *Capital* in the *Vestnik Evropy* for 1872, No. 5—an article distinguished by the fact that in his addendum to the second edition of *Capital*, Marx quoted J. K——n's arguments, recognising them as a correct exposition of his dialectic-materialist method.

The Russian Narodniks on Marxism : N. K. Mikhailovsky—in the *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, 1894, No. 10, and 1895, Nos. 1 and 2 ; also reprinted in his collected works—remarks concerning P. Struve's

[1] Published in English as *Evolutionary Socialism*, New York, 1909.—*Ed.*

Critical Notes, St. Petersburg, 1894. Mikhailovsky's views analysed from a Marxian point of view by K. Tulin (V. Ilyin) in his *Data Characterising Our Economic Development*, printed in St. Petersburg, 1895, but destroyed by the censor, later reprinted in V. Ilyin's *For Twelve Years*, St. Petersburg, 1908. Other Narodnik works: V.V., *Our Lines of Policy*, St. Petersburg, 1892, and *From the Seventies to the Twentieth Century*, St. Petersburg, 1907; Nikolai—on, *Outline of Our Post-Reform Social Economy*, St. Petersburg, 1893; V. Chernov, *Marxism and the Agrarian Problem*, St. Petersburg, 1906, and *Philosophical and Sociological Sketches*, St. Petersburg, 1907.

Besides the Narodniks, let us note further the following: N. Kareyev, *Old and New Sketches on Historical Materialism* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1896; (second edition in 1913 under the title *Critique of Economic Materialism*); Masaryk, *Das philosophischen und soziologischen Grundlagen des Marxismus* [in Russian translation], Moscow, 1900; Croce, *Historical Materialism and the Economics of Karl Marx*[1] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1902.

In order correctly to evaluate Marx's views, it is necessary to be acquainted with the works of his closest brother-in-ideas and collaborator, Friedrich Engels. It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account *all* the works of Engels.

For a critique of Marx from the point of view of Anarchism, see V. Cherkezov, *The Doctrines of Marxism*, two parts [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1905; V. Tucker, *Instead of a Book* [in Russian] Moscow, 1907; Sorel (syndicalist), *Insegnamenti sociali della economia contemporanea* [in Russian translation], Moscow, 1908.

[1] New York, 1914.—*Ed.*

THE END

THE WAR AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

BY

V. I. LENIN

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

On numerous occasions before the outbreak of the war in 1914, Lenin called the attention to the prevalence in the Second International of the crasset form of opportunism which was eating at the very vitals of the proletarian movement. He was always ready to acknowledge the achievements of the International in building working class mass political parties in the various capitalist countries; but he realised at the same time that the policies and tactics of the reformist leaders were reducing these parties to impotence in the revolutionary class struggle and were totally negating the very purpose of their organisation. French Ministerialism, German Revisionism, British Labourism, and Russian Menshevism were merely different expressions of the reformism and opportunism which were common to all the parties of the Second International to a greater or lesser degree.

The inevitable bankruptcy of the opportunist leadership was brought into bold relief immediately upon the declaration of war. This bankruptcy was easily transformed into an open betrayal of the working masses to the cause of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the various belligerent countries.

Lenin was imprisoned soon after the outbreak of the war in Austria. He was released and permitted to depart for Switzerland on August 26. He returned to Berne on September 5 and on the following day presented to a group of Bolsheviks his thesis on "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War." After two days' discussion, the theses were adopted as formulated by Lenin and taken to Russia by one of the Bolshevik Duma Deputies who had participated at this informal conference. The resolution was not only discussed by the Russian Central Committee of the Party and the Bolshevik Duma Fraction, but also by workers at some large Petrograd factories. It was also used on an international scale. It was sent to the Italian Party and used as the basis for a resolution on war at the Lugano Conference of the Italian and Swiss Socialist parties, September 27, 1914. The theses, which were published for the first time in volume XVIII (*The Imperialist War*)

of Lenin's *Collected Works*, condemned the voting of war credits by the Socialists and their participation in the bourgeois cabinets. It established the fact of the disintegration of the Second International and ascribed it to bourgeois reformism which had permeated the top layers of the Socialist parties in many countries. "The betrayal of Socialism by the majority of the leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies an ideological and political collapse of the International" read the resolution.

Lenin continues his revolutionary literary activity in attempting to clarify the position of revolutionary Socialists on the war amidst the poisonous chauvinist atmosphere spread within the labour movement by traitorous leaders, launches a merciless attack against the social-patriots, calls upon the workers to annul by revolutionary action the class peace made by their misleaders, and advises internationalist propaganda in the armies.

When George Plekhanov, whose Menshevism was easily transformed into social-chauvinism, announced a lecture at Lausanne on October 11, Lenin attends the lecture and there attacks the open betrayal of Socialism by this erstwhile founder of Russian Marxism. He reminds Plekhanov and his audience that the declaration in the Communist Manifesto about workers not having a fatherland under capitalism was as true then as it was when Marx and Engels penned the Manifesto.

Two days later, Lenin delivers a lecture to make a more extensive reply to Plekhanov's utterings. "The present war is an imperialist war," he declares, and insists that those who do not understand the imperialist nature of the war cannot have a correct opinion on the social and political problems engendered by the war. He calls attention to the resolutions of the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress (1907) and the Basle International Conference (1912) dealing with war and the role of the working class during it which the reformist leadership ostensibly approved during peace time, but flagrantly violated when war broke out. As in his first theses on the war, Lenin again brings forth the slogan of fighting "our own" government. If the struggle against chauvinism is meant seriously, he insists, it must in the first place be a struggle against chauvinism at home. He later gives the following terse formulation of this policy: "A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but wish the defeat of its own government."

But Lenin was not only attacking the openly traitorous and oppor-

tunist Right Wing. He levelled his bitterest attacks against the vacillating would-be internationalist Centre. In a letter to a comrade of October 17, he wrote: "The German Centre, with Kautsky at its head, a hidden evil embellished for diplomatic purposes and dulling the eyes, the intelligence, and the consciousness of the workers, is more dangerous than anything else. Our task at present is a determined and open struggle against international opportunism and those who shield it (Kautsky)." He ridiculed the idea of "simply" re-establishing the shattered International; and against the peace slogan of the Centre, which he declared to be a slogan of Philistines, he countered: "the proletarian slogan must be civil war."

As a result of the discussions on his first theses on the war and on his further utterances on the developing situation, Lenin was able to formulate in October the official declaration of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on the burning questions which the international working class in general, and the Russian workers in particular, were facing as a result of the war. This first official declaration of the revolutionary leadership of the Socialist Party of a warring country, which is reprinted in this booklet (pages 56-63) succinctly and boldly stated the attitude of the Party toward the nature of the war, analysed the constellation of forces of both belligerent groups, and showed the imperialist designs of each of the participating bourgeois governments. The workers were shown the enormity of the betrayal of the fundamental principles of Socialism by the Social-Democratic leaders which was responsible for the collapse of the Second International.

But the international working class must have its militant organisation, and Lenin voices the need for a new International. "The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish, the working masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International." It is in the statement of the Bolshevik Central Committee that we find the final formulation of that revolutionary slogan which has always been associated with Lenin, that of "turning the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan."

Lenin writes continually; he directs his attacks against the growing chauvinism, classifies the various groupings, eagerly watches for "honest voices" and revolutionary proletarian actions and separates the real Socialists from the renegades. In an article on November 1 he definitely proposes the formation of the Third International "purged not only of

deserters but also of opportunism." In broad strokes he formulates the role of this new International: "The Third International is confronted with the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, for the victory of Socialism."

Lenin not only proposes thus to form a new International, but also calls attention to the fact that the name "Social-Democracy" has come to denote social peace, and he poses the following question: "Is it not better to give up the name 'Social-Democrats' that has become polluted and degraded by them and return to the old Marxian name Communists?"

The essay, "The Collapse of the Second International," which is reprinted in this booklet, was written by Lenin in the summer of 1915. His thorough analysis of the forces making for war, of the nature of imperialism, of the treachery of social reformism, of the role of a revolutionary working class party during an imperialist war, makes this essay particularly appropriate at a time when the danger of war looms so much on the horizon.

The Second International is once more attempting to tie the working masses to the chariot of the imperialist bourgeoisie. It supports Chiang-Kai-shek against the Chinese Revolution and MacDonald against the rising Indian masses; it joins in organising counter-revolutionary plots against the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union and ranges itself on the side of the capitalists and landowners in every struggle of workers and peasants. It is the instrument of the international bourgeoisie against the revolutionary upsurge of the exploited and oppressed in the imperialist and colonial countries. Its social reformism of pre-war days has been transformed into social fascism of to-day.

Lenin's essay on the Second International will help to understand the road it has travelled since its "rejuvenation" after the war and the role that it plays at the present time. It should also serve as an aid in the determined and persistent struggle which the workers must wage against their enemies within the labour movement.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

May, 1931.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

By the collapse of the International one sometimes understands the plain, formal aspect of the thing, namely, the severance of international relations between the Socialist parties of the belligerent countries, the impossibility of convening either an international conference or the International Socialist Bureau, etc. This point of view has been adopted by some Socialists of the small neutral countries, possibly by a majority of the official parties of those countries, also by the opportunists and their defenders. In the Russian press this position was defended by Mr. V. Kossovsky, with a frankness deserving deep gratitude, in No. 8 of the *Information Bulletin* of the Bund, whose editor did not say a word about disagreeing with the author. There is hope that the defence of nationalism by Mr. Kossovsky, who went as far as defending the German Social-Democrats who voted for military appropriations, will help many a worker finally to realise the bourgeois-nationalist character of the Bund.

For the class-conscious workers, Socialism is a serious conviction and not a comfortable cover to hide petty-bourgeois compromises or a tendency of mere nationalist opposition. By the collapse of the International they understand the glaring disloyalty of the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties to their convictions, to the most solemn declarations made in speeches at the Stuttgart and Basle International Congresses, in the resolutions of these congresses, etc. Not to see this disloyalty is possible only for those *who do not wish* to see it, for whom it is unprofitable. In formulating the question scientifically, *i.e.*, from the point of view of the relations between classes in present-day society, we must say that the majority of the Social-Democratic parties, and first of all the German party, the greatest and most influential in the Second International, have joined their general staffs, their governments, their bourgeoisie, thus taking a stand against the proletariat. This is an event of world-wide historic significance, and it is impossible not to dwell on a many-sided analysis of it. It has long been conceded that wars, with all their horrors and miseries, have this more or less outstanding beneficial result, that they mercilessly reveal, unmask,

and destroy much rotten, obsolete, and dead matter in human institutions. The European War of 1914-1915 has undoubtedly begun to yield beneficial results in that it has shown the advanced class of the civilised countries that a hideous, festering abscess has grown within its parties, and that an intolerable putrid stench is issuing from somewhere.

I

Is it a fact that the chief Socialist parties of Europe have become disloyal to all their convictions and tasks? Obviously, this is not readily discussed either by the traitors themselves or by those who realise clearly, or guess hazily, that they will have to be friendly and tolerant with them. However unpleasant this may be to various "authorities" of the Second International, or to the friends of their faction among the Russian Social-Democrats, we must face the issues squarely and call things by their proper names; we must tell the workers the truth.

Are there facts enough to show how the Socialist parties looked upon their tasks and their tactics before the war and in anticipation of it? Undoubtedly such facts exist. There is the resolution adopted at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912. Together with the resolutions adopted at the 1912 Chemnitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, we reprint it below as a reminder of the "forgotten words" of Socialism. This resolution, summing up the enormous propagandist and agitational literature of all the countries against war, represents the most exact and complete, the most solemn and formal exposition of the Socialist views on war and on tactics in relation to war. One cannot fail to qualify otherwise than as betrayal the very fact that none of the authorities of the International of yesterday and of social-chauvinism of to-day, neither Hyndman nor Guesde, neither Kautsky nor Plekhanov, dares to remind his readers of that resolution, preferring either to be silent about it, or, like Kautsky, to quote from it excerpts of secondary importance, omitting everything essential. On the one hand, the most "Left" arch-revolutionary resolutions; on the other hand, a shameless forgetfulness and a renunciation of these resolutions—this is one of the most flagrant manifestations of the collapse of the International. At the same time, it is one of the most striking proofs that a belief in the possibility of "ameliorating" Socialism, of "straightening out its line" by means of resolutions alone can at present be cherished

only by those whose unexampled naiveté goes hand in hand with a shrewd desire to perpetuate their former hypocrisy.

It seems only yesterday that Hyndman, having turned to the defence of imperialism prior to the war, was looked upon by all "decent" Socialists as an unbalanced crank and that nobody spoke of him otherwise than in a tone of disdain. Now the most eminent Social-Democratic leaders of all the countries have sunk to Hyndman's position, differing among themselves only in shades of opinion and temperament. And it is utterly impossible for us to use a more or less parliamentary language when we judge or characterise the civic courage of persons like the writers of the *Nashe Slovo*, who speak of "Mr." Hyndman in tones of contempt, while "Comrade" Kautsky is treated with deference (obsequiousness ?) whether he is mentioned directly or not. Is it possible to reconcile such an attitude with respect to Socialism, and generally with respect to a man's convictions ? If we are convinced of the falsity and destructiveness of Hyndman's chauvinism, does it not follow that we must direct our criticism and attacks against the *more influential* and more dangerous defender of such views, Kautsky ?

Guesde's views have recently been expressed in more detail, perhaps, than elsewhere by a Guesdeist, Charles Dumas, in a pamphlet entitled *La paix que nous voulons*. This "head" of Jules Guesde's "cabinet," as he calls himself on the title page of the pamphlet, naturally quotes the former declarations of the Socialists in a patriotic spirit (the same is done by David, the German social-chauvinist, in his latest pamphlet on the defence of the fatherland), but he does not quote the Basle Manifesto ! Plekhanov, in uttering, with unusual conceit, social-chauvinist vulgarities, also keeps quiet concerning that manifesto. Kautsky acts like Plekhanov : in quoting the Basle Manifesto he *omits* all the revolutionary parts of it (*i.e.*, all its vital content !) probably under the pretext of censorship regulations. . . . The police and the military authorities have forbidden, by censorship regulations, the mention of class-struggle or revolution, and this came in "handy" to the betrayers of Socialism !

But does the Basle Manifesto perchance represent some meaningless appeal ? Is it perhaps devoid of any definite content, either historical or political, that would have a direct bearing upon this given war ?

The reverse is true. There is less idle declamation, there is more definite content in the Basle resolution than elsewhere. The Basle

resolution speaks of the *very same* war which took place later; it speaks of the very same *imperialist* conflicts which broke out in 1914-1915. The conflicts between Austria and Serbia over the Balkans, between Austria and Italy over Albania, etc., between England and Germany over markets and colonies in general, between Russia and Turkey, etc., over Armenia and Constantinople—this is what the Basle resolution speaks of, anticipating this, the present war. It is of this present war between " the great nations of Europe " that the Basle resolution declares that it " *cannot be justified by even the slightest pretext of being in the interest of the people* ! "

And if Plekhanov and Kautsky—to take two of the most typical Socialist authorities close to us (one of whom writes in Russian and the other is translated into Russian by the Liquidators)—are now picking out, with the aid of Axelrod, all sorts of " popular justifications " for the war (or, rather, plebeian ones taken from the yellow press of the bourgeoisie); if, with a learned mien and with a stock of false quotations from Marx, they refer to " examples " of the wars of 1813 and 1870 (Plekhanov) or of 1854-1871, 1876-1877, 1897 (Kautsky), verily, only people without a shadow of Socialist convictions can take such arguments " seriously," can fail to call them monstrous Jesuitism, hypocrisy and prostitution of Socialism! Let the German party administration (*Vorstand*) anathematise Mehring's and Rosa Luxemburg's new magazine, *Die Internationale*, for its just criticism of Kautsky; let Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Hyndman and Co. treat their adversaries in the same manner with the aid of the police of the Triple Entente; we will reply by simply reprinting the Basle Manifesto. This will reveal a change in the leaders for which there can be no other name but treason.

The Basle resolution speaks not of a national war, not of a people's war, the like of which took place in Europe, a war that was even typical for the period of 1789-1871; it does not speak of a *revolutionary war* (which the Social-Democrats never rejected), but of a *present-day* war as an outcome of " capitalist imperialism " and " dynastic " interests, as an outcome of " the policy of conquests " pursued by *both* groups of belligerent nations, the Austro-German and the Anglo-Franco-Russian group. Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. are deceiving the workers outright when they repeat the selfish lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries, which strives with all its power to paint this imperialist, colonial, predatory war as a people's war and a war of defence (on whatever side); they are

deceiving the workers when they pick up justifications for this war from the realm of historic examples of *non*-imperialist wars.

The question as to the imperialist, predatory, anti-proletarian character of the present war has long outgrown the stage of pure theoretical reasoning. Not only has imperialism, in its main characteristics, been theoretically appraised as the struggle of the perishing, senile, and rotten bourgeoisie for the division of the world, and for the enslavement of the "small" nations; not only have these conclusions been repeated thousands of times in the vast newspaper literature of the Socialists of *all* countries; not only did, for instance, a representative of an "Allied" nation, the Frenchman Delaisi, in the pamphlet *La guerre qui vient* (1911!) explain in a popular fashion the predatory character of the present war as far as the French bourgeoisie was concerned, but more than that happened. The representatives of the proletarian parties of all countries unanimously and formally expressed at Basle their unshakable conviction that a war of an imperialist character would come, and they drew the *tactical* conclusions. It is for this reason that, among other things, we must reject pointblank as obvious sophisms all reference to the fact that the difference between national and international tactics has not been sufficiently discussed (compare Axelrod's last interview in the *Nashe Slovo*, Nos. 87 and 90), and so forth and so on. Such assertions are sophisms because they confuse a many-sided scientific analysis of imperialism, which analysis only now begins and which analysis in its essence is infinite even as science is infinite, with the essentials of Socialist tactics against capitalist imperialism, which tactics have been pointed out in millions of copies of Social-Democratic papers and in the decisions of the International. The Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organisations of the fighting proletariat. When a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, we must call them by name and brand them as traitors, without allowing ourselves to be "captured" by hypocritical assertions to the effect that not all understand imperialism "in the same way," or that the chauvinist Kautsky and the chauvinist Cunow can write volumes about it, or that the question has not been "sufficiently discussed," and many other excuses of the same kind. Capitalism in *all* the manifestations of its plunder, and in all the minutest ramifications of its historical development and its national peculiarities, will *never* be completely and *exhaustively* studied. Scholars, particularly pedants, will never cease disputing details. To give up Socialist struggle

against capitalism "on that account," to give up opposing those who become traitors in this struggle, would be ridiculous, and is not this what Kautsky, Cunow, Axelrod, etc., propose?

It is a fact that after the outbreak of the war nobody even as much as attempted to analyse the Basle resolution or to show its incorrectness!

II

But is it not possible that while sincere Socialists stood for the Basle resolution because they anticipated the emergency of a revolutionary situation from the war, they have been proven wrong by the course of events, because a revolution appears impossible?

It is by means of such sophistry that Cunow (in his pamphlet entitled *Parteizusammenbruch*? [*Collapse of the Party*?] and in a series of articles) attempts to justify his joining the camp of the bourgeoisie. We find similar "arguments" hinted at in the works of all the other social chauvinists, with Kautsky at their head. The hopes for a revolution proved an illusion, to fight for an illusion is not the task of a Marxist, Cunow reasons. This Struveist does not mention that the "illusions" were shared by all the signatories of the Basle Manifesto; like an eminently noble gentleman, he tries to put the blame on the extreme Left, such as Pannekoek and Radek!

Let us examine the substance of the argument which says that the authors of the Basle Manifesto sincerely anticipated the coming of a revolution, that events, however, proved their error. The Basle Manifesto says: (1) that the war creates an economic and political crisis; (2) that the workers will look upon their participation in war as upon a crime, a criminal "firing at each other for the profits of capitalists, the ambitions of dynasties, the greater glory of secret diplomatic treaties," that the war calls forth among the workers "indignation and revolt"; (3) that the Socialists are obliged to take advantage of the above crisis and of the workers' state of mind in order "to arouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism"; (4) that the governments, all without exception, can start a war only at their own peril; (5) that the governments are afraid of a proletarian revolution; (6) that the governments must "remember" the Paris Commune (*i.e.*, civil war), the 1905 Revolution in Russia, etc. All these are perfectly clear thoughts; they do not contain a *guarantee* that a revolution will happen; they lay stress on an exact characterisation of the *facts and tendencies*. The

man, who, after hearing such thoughts and reasonings, declares that the anticipated revolution proved an illusion, shows not a Marxist but a Sturveist attitude towards the revolution, an attitude typical of police and renegades.

For a Marxist there is no doubt that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, we know that not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution. What are, generally speaking, the characteristics of a revolutionary situation? We can hardly be mistaken when we indicate the following three outstanding signs: (1) it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their power unchanged; there is a crisis "higher up," taking one form or another; there is a crisis in the policy of the ruling class; as a result, there appears a crack through which the dissatisfaction and the revolt of the oppressed classes burst forth. If a revolution is to take place, it is usually insufficient that "one does not wish way below," but it is necessary that "one is incapable up above" to continue in the old way; (2) the wants and sufferings of the oppressed classes become more acute than usual; (3) in consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses who in "peace time" allow themselves to be robbed without protest, but in stormy times are drawn both by the circumstances of the crises and *by the "higher-ups" themselves* into independent historic action.

Without these objective changes, which are independent not only of the will of separate groups and parties but even of separate classes, a revolution, as a rule, is impossible. The co-existence of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation. This situation existed in 1905 in Russia and in all the periods of revolution in the West, but it also existed in the seventh decade of the last century in Germany; it existed in 1859-1861 and in 1879-1880 in Russia, though there was no revolution in these latter instances. Why? Because a revolution emerges not out of every revolutionary situation, but out of such situations where, to the above-mentioned objective changes, subjective ones are added, namely, the ability of the revolutionary *classes* to carry out revolutionary mass actions *strong* enough to break (or to undermine) the old government, it being the rule that never, not even in a period of crises, does a government "fall" of itself without being "helped to fall."

This is how the Marxist views a revolution. These views were advanced

many, many times, and were recognised as indisputable by all Marxists; for us Russians they were corroborated in a particularly clear fashion by the experience of 1905. What, then, did the Basle Manifesto assume in 1912 in this respect, and what happened in 1914-1915?

It assumed a revolutionary situation which it briefly described as "an economic and political crisis." Has such a situation materialised? Undoubtedly so. The social-chauvinist Lensch, who more directly, more openly and more honestly defends chauvinism than the hypocrites, Cunow, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co., went as far as to say: "We are now going through a *revolution*" (p. 6. of his pamphlet entitled *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg* [*German Social-Democracy and the World War*] 1915). There is a political crisis at hand; none of the governments is sure of the near future; none is secure against the danger of financial collapse, loss of territory, expulsion from its country (the way the Belgian government was expelled). All governments live on a volcano, all appeal, *of their own accord*, to the initiative and heroism of the masses. The political regime of Europe has all been shaken, and probably nobody will deny that we have entered (and are getting ever deeper into —I write this on the day when Italy has declared war) an era of the greatest political perturbations. When on October 2nd 1914, two months after the declaration of war, Kautsky wrote in the *Neue Zeit* that "never are governments as strong, never are parties as weak as at the beginning of a war," it was a sample of those falsifications of the science of history which Kautsky undertakes in order to please Südekum and the other chauvinists. Never are governments so much in need of peace among all the parties of the ruling classes, and of a "peaceful" submission to this rule by the oppressed classes, as in time of war. On the other hand, assuming even that, "at the beginning of the war," the government *appears* to be all-powerful, particularly in a country that expects a speedy victory,—who ever said that a revolutionary situation must necessarily coincide with the "beginning" of the war? And who ever said that the *appearance* of strength coincides with *actual strength*?

Everybody knew, saw and recognised that a European war would be of unparalleled gravity. The experience of the war proves this more and more. The war widens. The political mainstays of Europe are shaking more and more. The sufferings of the masses are terrible, and the efforts of the governments, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to hush up those sufferings are suffering ever more frequent defeats.

The war profits of certain groups of capitalists are monstrously, scandalously, large. The sharpening of conflicting forces is tremendous. The inarticulate indignation of the masses, the hazy yearning of the downtrodden and unenlightened strata of society for a nice (" democratic ") peace, the beginning of rumblings " down below "—all these are facts. The longer the war is drawn out, and the more acute it becomes, the more the governments themselves develop, and must develop, the initiative of the masses, urging them, as they do, to abnormal strain and sacrifices. The experiences of the war, as the experiences of every crisis in history, of every great calamity and every sudden turn in human life, dull and break one set of people, *while they enlighten and harden others.* And taking the history of the world as a whole, it has been proven that, barring individual cases of decadence and fall of a state, the number and the strength of the latter have been generally greater than that of the former.

The conclusion of peace will not only fail to terminate all these sufferings and all this sharpening of conflicting forces " immediately "; on the contrary, in many respects it will make the sufferings more keenly felt and more clearly understood by the most backward masses of the population.

In a word, a revolutionary situation in a majority of the advanced countries and the great nations of Europe is there. In this respect, the anticipations of the Basle Manifesto have been fully vindicated. To deny this truth directly or indirectly, or to pass over it in silence, as do Cunow, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co., is to be telling the greatest untruth, to deceive the working class, and to be servile to the bourgeoisie. We have quoted facts (in the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Nos. 34, 40, 41) proving that people who are afraid of the revolution—petty-bourgeois Christian priests, general staffs, newspapers of millionaires—are compelled to recognise the symptoms of a revolutionary situation in Europe.

Will this situation continue for a long while? How far more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? We do not know, and nobody can know that. Only the *experience* of the development of revolutionary sentiments and the beginning of revolutionary actions on the part of the advanced class, the proletariat, will show that. One cannot speak in this connection either of " illusions " or of their repudiation, since no Socialist anywhere ever undertook to guarantee that the revolution would emerge from this and not from the following war, from to-day's and not from to-morrow's revolutionary situation. The

question at issue is the most undisputed and most fundamental duty of all Socialists: the duty to reveal to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, to make clear its scope and depth, to awaken the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary determination of the proletariat, to help it to pass to revolutionary actions, and to create organisations befitting the revolutionary situation for work in this direction.

No influential or responsible Socialist ever dared doubt this duty of Socialist parties. Just this was imposed on the Socialists by the Basle Manifesto without spreading or cherishing the least "illusions": the duty to awaken, to "stir" the people, and not to lull them to sleep by chauvinism, as do Plekhanov, Axelrod and Kautsky; to "take advantage" of the crisis for "*hastening*" the collapse of capitalism; to be guided by the *examples* of the Commune and of October-December, 1905. The fact that the present parties failed to do their duty is their betrayal, their political death, their repudiation of their rôle, their joining the side of the bourgeoisie.

III

But how was it *possible* that the most eminent representatives and leaders of the Second International betrayed Socialism? We shall dwell on this question later, after we have examined the attempts at "theoretically" justifying this betrayal. Let us try first to characterise the main theories of the social-chauvinists, who, we may fairly say, are represented by Plekhanov (he reiterates in most cases the arguments of the Anglo-French chauvinists, Hyndman and his new adherents) and by Kautsky, who advances much more subtle arguments that have the appearance of considerably greater theoretical solidity.

The most primitive theory seems to be the one that points at an "offender" state. "We have been attacked," it says, "we defend ourselves; the interests of the proletariat demand resistance to the disturber of European peace." This tune is repeated in the declarations of all the governments and in the declamations of all the bourgeois and yellow press the world over. Even this threadbare vulgarity Plekhanov has managed to embellish by a Jesuit reference to "dialectics" so habitual with this writer; he asserts that in order to take stock of a given situation, we must first of all find the offender and give him his due, postponing all other questions for another occasion

(see Plekhanov's pamphlet *On the War*, Paris, 1914, and the repetition of its arguments by Axelrod in *Golos*, Nos. 86 and 87). Plekhanov has beaten the record in the noble sport of substituting sophistry for dialectics. The sophist picks one out of many "arguments," and it is Hegel who long ago correctly noticed that it is possible to find "arguments" for everything in the world. The dialectic method demands a many-sided investigation of a given social phenomenon in its development; it demands that we proceed from the exterior, from the apparent, to the fundamental moving forces, to the development of productive forces and to the class struggle. Plekhanov picks out one quotation from the German Social-Democratic press: the Germans themselves, prior to the war, he says, recognised that Austria and Germany were the "offenders," and that is enough for him; that the Russian Socialist repeatedly exposed tsarist plans of conquest in relation to Galicia, Armenia, etc., Plekhanov does not mention. He does not make the slightest attempt to study the economic and diplomatic history, at least of the last three decades, which history proves conclusively that it was the conquest of colonies, the grabbing of foreign countries, the expulsion and ruining of the more successful competitors that were the main aces of the politics of both groups of the now belligerent nations.*

*Very instructive is *The War of Steel and Gold* [London, 1914, a book bearing the date of March, 1914!], by the English pacifist Brailsford, who is not averse to parading as a Socialist. The author clearly recognises that the problems of nationality no longer occupy the forefront, that they have been solved [p. 35]; that this is not the issue at present, the "the typical question of modern diplomacy [p. 36] is the Bagdad railroad, the delivery of rails for it, the mines of Morocco and the like." The author rightly considers one of the "most instructive incidents in the recent history of European diplomacy" the fact that the French patriots and the English imperialists fought against the attempts of Caillaux, in 1911 and 1913, to make peace with Germany on the basis of an agreement concerning the division of colonial spheres of influence and the admittance of German securities to the Paris Bourse. The *English* and the *French* bourgeoisie, he says, *frustrated* such an agreement [pp. 38-40]. The aim of imperialism, he asserts, is the export of capital to the weaker countries [p. 74]. The profit from such capital amounted in England in 1899 to £90—100,000,000 sterling (Giffen); in 1909, to £140,000,000 sterling, almost 2,000,000,000 rubles. Foul machinations and bribing the Turkish nobility, posts for favourite sons in India and Egypt, these are the main things, in Brailsford's opinion [pp. 85-87]. An insignificant minority gains from armaments and wars, he says, but this minority is backed by "Society" and by the financiers, whereas behind the adherents of peace there is a scattered population [p. 93]. A pacifist who at present talks of disarmament and arbitration will to-morrow work for a party which is dependent on the war contractors [p. 161]. When the Triple Entente is dominant, it seizes Morocco and divides Persia; when the Triple Alliance recovers its lead, it takes Tripoli, assures its hold in Bosnia, and penetrates Asiatic Turkey [p.167]. London and Paris gave billions to Russia in March, 1906, helping tsarism to crush the movement for freedom [pp. 225-228]; now England helps Russia to throttle Persia [p. 229]. Russia has arranged the Balkan War [p. 230]. [cont. p. 18.]

Applied to wars, the main thesis of dialectics so shamelessly distorted by Plekhanov to please the bourgeoisie consists in this, that "*war is nothing but a continuation of political relations by other* (*i.e., forcible*) *means*." This formula belongs to Clausewitz,* one of the greatest writers on the history of war, whose ideas were fertilised by Hegel. And this was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who looked upon *every* war as a continuation of the politics of given interested nations—and *various classes* inside of them—at a given time.

The theoretical foundation of Plekhanov's crass chauvinism becomes that of the more subtle and sugary chauvinism of Kautsky, when the latter, in sanctifying the shifting of the Socialists of all countries to the side of "their" capitalists, uses the following arguments:

Everybody has a right and a duty to defend his fatherland; true internationalism consists in recognising this right for the Socialists of all nations, including those who are at war with my nation . . . (see *Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914, and other works by the same author).

This matchless reasoning is such a sordidly flagrant travesty of Socialism that the best answer to it would be to coin a medal with the portraits of Wilhelm II and Nicholas II on one side, of Plekhanov and Kautsky on the other. True internationalism, mind you, consists in justifying the firing at German workers by the French workers, and at the French by the Germans, in the name of "defence of the fatherland."!

However, if we examine more closely the theoretical premises of Kautsky's reasoning, we find an idea ridiculed by Clausewitz about eighty years ago. When war begins, Kautsky seems to think, all political relations between peoples and classes resulting from an historical development cease to exist; a totally new situation is there! There are, he thinks only attackers and defenders as such, and the "fatherland's foes"

All this is not new, is it? All this is common knowledge, and was repeated in Social-Democratic papers of the whole world. On the eve of the war, a bourgeois Englishman sees all this as clearly as can be. In face of these simple and commonly known facts, what indecent nonsense, what intolerable hypocrisy, what sugary lies are the theories of Plekhanov and Potresov concerning Germany's guilt, or the theory of Kautsky concerning the "prospects of disarmament and lasting peace under capitalism."

*Karl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Works, Berlin, 1834, Vol. I, p. 28. Compare Vol. III, pp. 139-140: "Everybody knows that wars are created only by political relations between governments and peoples; but ordinarily one pictures the situation as if, with the beginning of the war, these relations cease and a new situation is created subject to its own laws. We assert, on the contrary, that war is nothing but a continuation of political relations by other means."

must be repelled! The oppression of a great number of nations, which form over half of the globe's population, by the imperialist peoples striving towards national aggrandisement; the competition between the bourgeoisie of these countries for a share of the loot; the desire of the capitalists to split and oppress the labour movement, all this of a sudden has disappeared from the field of vision of Plekhanov and Kautsky, although it was such "politics" that they themselves had been pointing at for decades prior to the war.

False references to Marx and Engels form in this connection the "trump" argument of the two chiefs of social-chauvinism; Plekhanov recalls Prussia's national war of 1813 and Germany's of 1870, while Kautsky proves, with a most learned air, that Marx examined the question as to whose success (*i.e.*, the success of which bourgeoisie) was more desirable in the wars of 1854-1855, 1859, 1870-1871, and that the Marxists did likewise in the wars of 1876-1877 and 1897. It is the method of all the sophists of all times to quote examples obviously relating to basically dissimilar cases. The wars of the past referred to were a "continuation of the politics" of age-long national movements of the bourgeoisie, movements against the oppression of a foreign nation, of an outsider, and against absolutism, Turkish and Russian. There could be no other question at that time than the question as to which bourgeoisie's success was to be preferred. The Marxists were in a position to *make propaganda among the peoples* in favour of such wars, to fan national hatred in the manner in which Marx appealed in favour of the war in 1848 and later in favour of war with Russia, in the manner in which Engels in 1859 fanned the national hatred of the Germans against their oppressors, Napoleon III and Russian tsarism.*

To compare that "continuation of politics" which was a struggle against feudalism and absolutism—the politics of a bourgeoisie in its struggle for liberty—with this "continuation of politics" of a bourgeoisie

*Mr. Gardenin in *Zhizn* [Life] labels as "revolutionary chauvinism," but none the less as chauvinism, Marx's stand in 1848 for a revolutionary war against the peoples of Europe who in practice had shown themselves to be counter-revolutionary, the Slavs and the Russians in particular. Such blame on Marx proves once more the opportunism (or rather the total lack of earnestness) of this "Left" Socialist-Revolutionist. We Marxists have always stood, and do stand, for a *revolutionary* war against *counter-revolutionary* peoples. For instance, if Socialism were to be victorious in America or in Europe in 1920 while, let us say, Japan or China were advancing *their* Bismarcks against us—even if it were at first only diplomatically—then we certainly would be for an aggressive revolutionary war against them. It seems strange to you, Mr. Gardenin! The trouble is you are a revolutionist of the Ropshin type!

which has become decrepit, *i.e.*, imperialist, which has plundered the whole world, and, being reactionary, forms an alliance with the feudal masters to crush the proletariat, means to compare yards with pounds. It is on a par with comparing the "representatives of the bourgeoisie," Robespierre, Garibaldi, Zhelyabov, with such "representatives of the bourgeoisie" as Millerand, Salandra, Guchkov. One cannot be a Marxist without feeling the deepest respect for the great bourgeois revolutionist who had a world-wide historic right to speak in the name of "bourgeois" fatherlands, who aroused tens of millions of people of new nations to a civilised life in their struggle against feudalism. And one cannot be a Marxist without feeling contempt for the sophistry of Plekhanov and Kautsky who speak of the "defence of the fatherland" in relation to the throttling of Belgium by the German imperialists, or in relation to the pact of the imperialists of England, France, Russia and Italy concerning the plunder of Austria and Turkey.

There is another "Marxist" theory of social-chauvinism : Socialism, it says, is based on a rapid development of capitalism ; the victory of "my" country will hasten the development of its capitalism and consequently the arrival of Socialism ; a defeat of "my" country will thwart its economic development, and consequently the arrival of Socialism. Such Struveist theory is being propounded in Russia by Plekhanov, among the Germans by Lensch and others. Kautsky argues against this crude theory, against Lensch who defends it outright, against Cunow who fights for it covertly, but Kautsky's argument only aims to bring about a reconciliation of the social-chauvinists of all countries on the basis of a more subtle, more Jesuit chauvinist theory.

We need not dwell on the analysis of this crude theory. Struve's *Critical Notes* appeared in 1894. During these twenty years the Russian Social-Democrats have become thoroughly familiar with this "manner" of the enlightened Russian bourgeois who advance their ideas and advocate their desires under the cloak of a kind of Marxism which has been *purged* of revolutionary substance. Struveism is not a purely Russian phenomenon ; as the recent events prove clearly, there is an international tendency of the bourgeois theoreticians to kill Marxism by "gentleness," to choke it in their embraces, by an apparent acceptance of "all" the "truly scientific" sides and elements of Marxism *except* its "agitational," "Demagogic," "Blanqui-like," "Utopian" side. In other words, they take from Marxism all that is acceptable for the

liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, including the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), including a "general" recognition of "Socialist ideals" and the substitution of a "new order" for capitalism; they repudiate "only" the living soul of Marxism, "only" its revolutionary content.

Marxism is the theory of the movement of the proletariat for liberation. It is clear, therefore, that the class-conscious workers must pay the utmost attention to the process of substituting Struveism for Marxism. The moving forces of his process are manifold and varied. We shall point out only the main three: (1) The development of science presents more and more material to prove that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically, without warring openly against the foundations of Marxism, apparently recognising it but at the same time castrating its substance by sophistry, transforming Marxism into a holy "ikon" harmless for the bourgeoisie; (2) The development of opportunism among the Social-Democratic parties facilitates such a "recasting" of Marxism, fitting it to justify every kind of concession to opportunism; (3) The epoch of imperialism is an epoch when the world is divided among the "great" privileged nations which oppress all the others. Crumbs of the loot coming from these privileges and this oppression undoubtedly fall on the table of certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, and of the aristocracy and also bureaucracy of the working class. Such strata, being an insignificant minority of the proletariat and the working masses, gravitate towards "Struveism," because it gives them a justification of their alliance with "their" national bourgeoisie against the oppressed masses of *all* nations. We shall have to deal with this below in connection with the question of the causes of the collapse of the International.

IV

The most subtle theory of social-chauvinism most skilfully counterfeited to appear scientific and international is the theory of "ultra imperialism" advanced by Kautsky. Here is the clearest, most precise and most recent exposition of it made by the author himself:

> The weakening of the protectionist movement in England; the lowering of the tariffs in America; the tendency towards disarmament; the rapid decrease, in the last years before the war, of capital export from France and Germany; finally, the growing mutual inter-

national entanglement of the various cliques of finance capital—all this has caused me to weigh in mind whether the present imperialist policy cannot be supplanted by another, an ultra-imperialist one, which would substitute for the mutual struggle of national groups of finance capital a general exploitation of the world by united international finance capital. Such a new phase of capitalism is conceivable, to say the least. Whether it is realisable, we cannot say at present because there is not sufficient data in existence. (*Neue Zeit*, No. 5, April 30, 1915, p. 144).

. . . The course and the outcome of the present war may prove decisive in this respect. It may entirely crush the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism by fanning to the highest degree the national hatreds also among the finance capitalists, by increasing armaments and the race for them, by making a new world war inevitable. Under such conditions, the thing I foresaw and formulated in my pamphlet, *Der Weg zur Macht*, would come true in horrifying proportions; class antagonisms would become sharper and sharper and with it would come the moral decadence [verbatim: "the refusal to function," *Abwirtschaftung*, collapse] of capitalism. . . . [It must be noted that by this fancy word Kautsky understands simply the "hatred" of capitalism on the part of the intermediary strata between the proletariat and finance capital: namely, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeois, even petty capitalists.] But [says Kautsky] the war may end otherwise. It may lead to the strengthening of the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism. . . . Its lesson [attention, please!] may hasten developments which would take a long time under peace conditions. Should it come to an agreement between nations, to disarmament, to a lasting peace, then the worst of the causes that led to a growing moral decadence of capitalism before the war, may disappear.

The new phase will, of course, bring "new sufferings" to the proletariat, Kautsky says, "perhaps worse sufferings than before," but "for a time," he says, "ultra-imperialism may be in a position to create an era of new hopes and expectations within the framework of capitalism" [p.145].

How does the justification of social-chauvinism follow from this "theory"?

It follows in a manner that is very strange for a "theoretician."

The Left Wing Social-Democrats in Germany assert that imperialism, and the wars generated by imperialism, are not an accident but an inevitable product of capitalism, which brought about the domination of

finance-capital. Therefore, they say, a revolutionary struggle of the masses is on the order of the day, since the period of comparatively peaceful development has ended. The Right Wing Social-Democrats bluntly declare: Once imperialism is "necessary," we also must be imperialists. Now Kautsky in the role of the "centre" tries to reconcile them both:

> Against the imperialism that is inevitable [he writes in his pamphlet, *Nationalstaat, imperialistischer Staat und Staatenbund* (*National State, Imperialist State, and the League of States*), Nurenburg, 1915], the extreme Left wishes to "promote" Socialism, *i.e.*, not only the propaganda of Socialism which we, for half a century, have been practicing in opposition to all forms of capitalist domination, but the immediate introduction of Socialism. This seems very radical, but it is only capable of driving *every one* who *does not believe* in the immediate practical realisation of Socialism into the camp of imperialism. [P. 17. Italics ours.]

When Kautsky speaks of the immediate introduction of Socialism, he "perpetrates" a sleight of hand; he takes advantage of the fact that one is debarred from speaking of revolutionary action in Germany, particularly under military censorship. Kautsky knows very well that what the Left Wing demands is immediate propaganda in favour of, and preparations for revolutionary action on the part of the party, not at all an "immediate practical realisation of Socialism."

The Left Wing deduces the necessity of revolutionary action from the fact that imperialism cannot be avoided. The "theory of ultra-imperialism," on the other hand, serves Kautsky *to justify the opportunists*, to present the situation in such a light as if they did not join the bourgeosie but simply "did not believe" in introducing Socialism immediately, because they expected a "new era" of disarmament and lasting peace. The "theory" reduces itself to this and *only* to this, that Kautsky utilises the *hope* for a new peaceful era of capitalism to justify the opportunists and the official Social-Democratic parties who joined the bourgeoisie and repudiated revolutionary, *i.e.*, proletarian, tactics during the *present stormy era*, the solemn declarations of the Basle resolution notwithstanding!

Note that while doing so, Kautsky not only fails to state that this new phase will of necessity follow from such and such circumstances

and conditions, but, on the contrary, he openly declares: "I cannot even decide as yet whether this new phase can at all be realised." Look what "tendencies" leading towards the new era have been indicated by Kautsky. Is it not amazing that among the economic factors making for the new era Kautsky finds also the "tendency towards disarmament"? He is simply running away from undisputed facts that cannot be made to fit the theory of diminishing contradictions; he is simply hiding under the shadow of innocent philistine conversations and dreams. Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism"—this word, by the way, does not at all express what the author wants to say—is understood to be a tremendous *lessening* of the contradictions of capitalism. Kautsky speaks of the "weakening of protectionism in England and America." But is there any sign here of a tendency towards a new era? American protectionism, having reached the very limit, is now less rampant, but protectionism remains, nevertheless, so do the privileges, the preferential tariffs of the English colonies in favour of England. Let us remember what caused the change from the former "peaceful" period of capitalism to the present imperialist era: free competition was replaced by monopoly combinations of capitalists; the globe was divided up. It is obvious that both these facts (and factors) have really world-wide significance: free trade and peaceful competition were possible and necessary as long as capital was in a position to increase its colonies without hindrance and to seize unoccupied land in Africa, etc., while concentration of capital was still slight and no monopoly undertakings existed, *i.e.*, undertakings of such magnitude as to dominate a *whole* branch of industry. The appearance and growth of such monopoly undertakings (has this process, perchance, been checked in England or in America? Not even Kautsky will dare to deny that the war has hastened and sharpened it) make old-time free competition impossible. It takes the ground from under its feet, while the division of the globe *compels* the capitalists to pass from peaceful expansion to armed struggle for the redivision of colonies and spheres of influence. It is ridiculous to think that the weakening of protectionism in two countries can change anything in this respect.

Another fact is referred to: the decrease in capital export from *two* countries for a number of years. According to Harms' statistics for 1912, the capital invested abroad by the two countries under consideration, *viz.*, France and Germany, amounted to 35,000,000,000 marks (about

17,000,000,000 rubles) each, while England alone had double the amount.* The export of capital never did and never could grow on the same scale everywhere under capitalism. Nobody, not even Kautsky, can say that the accumulation of capital has slackened or that the capacity of the home market to absorb commodities has undergone a vital change, say, through a marked improvement in the living standards of the masses. Under such conditions it is utterly impossible to deduce the coming of a new era from a decrease in the capital exports of two countries for several years.

"The growing international interlocking of the cliques of finance capital," this is the only general tendency that is actually in evidence for the last few years; and it relates not only to a few years or to a few countries but to the whole world, to the whole of capitalism. But why must this tendency lead to disarmament, and not to armaments, as hitherto? Let us look at any one of the world-famous producers of cannon (and of war materials in general), for instance, Armstrong. The English *Economist* recently (May 15, 1915) published figures showing that the profits of this firm rose from £606,000 sterling (about 6,000,000 rubles) in 1905,1906, to £856,000 in 1913, and £940,000 (9,000,000 *rubles*) in 1914. The interlinking of finance capital is here very pronounced and it keeps growing: German capitalists are "participating" in the affairs of English firms; English firms are constructing submarines for Austria, etc. Capital, internationally interlocked, does splendid business in armaments and wars. To deduce any economic tendency towards disarmament from the combining and interlocking of various national capitals into one international whole, means to offer kindhearted philistine prayers that class antagonism should become dulled where class antagonisms are actually becoming sharpened.

V

Kautsky speaks of the "lessons" of the war in a spirit that is entirely philistine. He makes these lessons appear as a kind of moral horror before the miseries of the war. This is, for instance, how he argues in the pamphlet entitled *Nationalstaat*, etc.:

*See Bernhard Harms, *Probleme der Weltwirtschaft* [*Problems of World Economy*], Jena, 1912: George Paish, "Great Britain's Capital Investments in Colonies" in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXXV, 1910-11, p. 167. Lloyd George, in a speech early in 1915, estimated English capital abroad as amounting to £4,000,000,000 sterling, *i.e.*, about 80,000,000,000 marks.

It is beyond doubt and it is not necessary to prove that there are strata of the population having the most urgent interest in universal peace and disarmament. Petty bourgeois and petty peasants, even many capitalists and intellectuals have no interest in imperialism stronger than the damage caused to these strata by war and armaments [p. 21].

This was written in February, 1915! At a time when there was a veritable rush of all propertied classes, including petty bourgeois and the "intelligentsia," to join the imperialists, Kautsky, as if secluded from the rest of the world, with unusual self-sufficiency uses sugary phrases to repudiate facts. He judges the interests of the petty bourgeoisie not by its *actions* but by the *words* of some of its members, though these words are at every step given the lie by actions. It is the same as if we were to judge the "interests" of the bourgeoisie in general not by actions but by the mellifluous words of the bourgeois priests who solemnly swear that the present system is saturated with Christian ideals. Kautsky applies Marxism in such a fashion that all its content evaporates. What remains is a little word "interest" with some sort of a supernatural spiritualist meaning, attention being turned not towards economic realities, but towards the innocent desires for general welfare.

Marxism judges "interests" by class antagonisms and class struggle manifested in millions of facts in everyday life. The petty bourgeoisie dreams and prattles of mitigating antagonisms, "arguing" that their sharpening has "harmful" consequences. Imperialism is the subjugation of all strata of the propertied classes to finance capital and the division of the world among five or six "great" nations, the majority of whom are now participating in the war. The division of the world by the great nations means that all their propertied classes are *interested* in possessing colonies and spheres of influence, in oppressing foreign nations, in more or less lucrative posts and privileges connected with belonging to a "great" and oppressing nation.*

*E. Schultze informs us that by 1915 the value of securities in the whole world amounted to 732 billion francs, including state and municipal loans, mortgages and stocks of commercial and manufacturing corporations, etc. In this sum, the share of England, was 130 billion francs, of the United States 115, France 100, and Germany 75, i.e., the share of all four great nations was 420 billion francs, more than half of the total. From this we may judge the extent of the advantages and privileges accruing to the leading great nations that have progressed beyond other nations and oppress and plunder them. (Dr. Emil Schultze, "Das franzosische Kapital in Russland" [" French Capital in Russia "] in *Finanz-Archiv*, Berlin, 1915, Vol. XXXII, p. 127). " Defence of

It is *impossible* to live in the old fashion, in comparatively calm, cultured, peaceful surroundings of a capitalism softly gliding on the tracks of evolution, gradually spreading over new countries. It is impossible because a new era has arrived. Finance capital is driving this or that country from the ranks of great nations, and will succeed in doing so ; it will take away the colonies and spheres of influence of the vanquished nation, as Germany threatens to do if it wins the war against England. It will take away from the loser's petty bourgeoisie its "great nation" privileges and surplus profits. The war shows this clearly. This is the *outcome* of that sharpening of antagonisms which has long been recognised by all, including Kautsky in his pamphlet *Der Weg zur Macht.*

Now that the armed conflict for the privileges of a great nation is a fact, Kautsky begins to *persuade* the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie that war is a terrible thing while disarmament is a good thing ; he does it in the same manner and with exactly the same results as a Christian preacher who from the pulpit persuades the capitalist that love is God's commandment as well as a tendency of the soul and a moral law of civilisation. The thing called by Kautsky economic tendencies towards "ultra-imperialism" is in reality nothing but a petty-bourgeois exhortation, addressed to the financiers, a humble request that they refrain from evil.

Capital export? But more capital is exported into independent countries, such as the United States of America, than into colonies. Seizure of colonies? But they have all been seized, and nearly all of them strive towards liberation. "India may cease to be an English possession, but as an empire it will never fall under the domination of another foreign power" (p. 49 of the above pamphlet). "Every attempt of any industrial capitalist state to acquire for itself a colonial empire sufficient to make it independent from other countries in the acquisition of raw materials, must unite against it all the other capitalist states, must entangle it in endless exhausting wars without bringing it nearer to its aim. Such a policy would be the surest road towards the bankruptcy of the entire economic life of a state" (pp. 72-73).

Is not this a philistine attempt at persuading the financiers to re-

the fatherland" by the great nations is the defence of the right to share in the plunder of foreign countries. In Russia, as is commonly known, capitalist imperialism is weaker, while military-feudal imperialism is stronger.

linquish imperialism? To frighten the capitalists by the prospect of bankruptcy is the same as to advise the stock exchange brokers against making stock transactions on the ground that "there are many who thus lose their fortunes." There is *gain* for capital in the bankruptcy of a competing capitalist or a competing nation, because in this way capital grows more centralised; the sharper, therefore, and the "closer" the economic competition, *i.e.*, the economic pressure driving the opponent to bankruptcy, the stronger is the tendency of the capitalists to add *military* pressure driving him in the same direction. The fewer the remaining countries into which capital can be exported as advantageously as into colonies or dependent states like Turkey—since in such cases the financier reaps a triple profit compared with capital export into a free, independent and civilised country like the United States of America—the more *obstinate* is the struggle for the subjugation and the division of Turkey, China, etc. This is what economic theory says about the era of finance-capital and imperialism. This is what the facts say. As to Kautsky, he turns everything into a vulgar petty-bourgeois moral preaching: "It is not worth while," he says, "to get excited, less so to wage war for the division of Turkey, or for the seizure of India, since it won't last long anyway." Obviously, it would be better for capitalism if it could develop peacefully. Better still would be to develop capitalism and widen the home market by increasing wages; this is perfectly "feasible" and it is a very fitting topic for a clergyman to preach to the financiers. Good-hearted Kautsky nearly succeeds in persuading the German financiers that it is not worth while to wage war against England for the colonies, since these colonies will soon become free, anyway! . . .

English trade with Egypt between 1872 and 1912 did not keep pace with the growth of English foreign trade in general, and Kautsky the "Marxist" draws the moral: "We have no reason to assume that without military occupation of Egypt trade would not have grown as much under the simple pressure of economic factors" (p. 72). "The tendency of capitalists to expand can best be realised not by the violent methods of imperialism but by *peaceful democracy*" (p. 70).

What a wonderfully earnest, scientific "Marxian" analysis! Kautsky has magnificently "corrected" old unreasonable history; he has "proved" that there is no need for the English to take away Egypt from the French, that it was not at all worth while for the German

financiers to start the war, to organise a Turkish campaign and undertake other things in order to drive the English out of Egypt! All this is a mere misunderstanding—the English have not been wise enough to know that it is " best of all " to give up violent methods in Egypt, to start an era of " peaceful democracy " in order to increase the capital export *according to Kautsky*!

" Of course it was an illusion when the bourgeois free-traders thought that free trade would entirely eliminate the economic antagonisms generated by capitalism. Neither free trade nor democracy can eliminate them. What we are most interested in is that these antagonisms should be lived down in a struggle that assumes such forms as would impose on the labouring masses the least amount of suffering and sacrifices " (p. 73).

Grant, O God! God, have mercy!* " What is a philistine?" Lassalle used to ask, and he answered by quoting a well-known verse: " An empty hose, full of fear and hope for the mercy of God."

Kautsky has degraded Marxism to unheard-of prostitution; he has become a veritable priest. Kautsky the priest *persuades* the capitalists to start an era of peaceful democracy, and this he calls dialectics. If, originally, he says, there was free trade, and then came monopolies and imperialism, why shouldn't there be ultra-imperialism and free trade again? The priest *consoles* the oppressed masses by painting the blessings of this ultra-imperialism, although he does not even undertake to prove that it can be " introduced "! Feuerbach was right when in reply to those who defended religion on the ground that it consoles the people, he pointed out the reactionary meaning of consolation: " Whoever consoles the slave instead of arousing him to revolt against slavery, aids the slave-holder."

All oppressing classes of every description need two social functions to safeguard their domination: the function of a hangman, and the function of a priest. The hangman is to quell the protest and the rebellion of the oppressed, the priest is to paint before them a perspective of mitigated sufferings and sacrifices under the same class rule (which it is particularly easy to do without guaranteeing the " possibility of their realisation " . . .). Thereby he reconciles them to class domination, weans them away from revolutionary actions, undermines their revolutionary spirit, destroys their revolutionary determination. Kautsky

*Lenin imitates a beggar's chant in the streets in the expectation of alms.—*Ed.*

has turned Marxism into the most hideous and bigoted counter-revolutionary theory, into the most filthy clerical mush.

In 1909, in his pamphlet, entitled *Der Weg zur Macht*, he admitted the sharpening of antagonisms within capitalism, the approach of a period of wars and revolutions, of a new revolutionary period—all facts that never were and never can be repudiated. There can be no "premature" revolution, he said; to refuse to count on a possible victorious uprising even though there might also be a prospect of defeat, he declared, was a "direct betrayal of our cause."

Then war came. The antagonisms became *still sharper*. The sufferings of the masses reached gigantic proportions. The war is dragging on. Its area widens. Kautsky writes one pamphlet after the other, meekly submitting to the dictates of the censor; he does not quote the facts of land-grabbing, war horrors, the scandalous profits of war-contractors, the high cost of living, the "military slavery" of the mobilised workers—instead he keeps on consoling the proletariat; he consoles it by the examples of those wars in which the bourgeoisie was revolutionary and progressive, in regard to which Marx himself wished victory to one or the other bourgeoisie; he consoles it by rows and columns of figures which prove that capitalism is "possible" without colonies, and robbery without wars and armaments, and that "peaceful democracy" is preferable. Without daring to deny the sharpening of the sufferings of the masses and the emergence before our very eyes of a revolutionary situation (of this one must not talk, the censor does not permit it . . .), Kautsky, the lackey of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, paints a perspective (whose "possibility of realisation" he does *not guarantee*) of such forms of struggle in a new era when there will be "the least amount of sacrifice and suffering." . . . Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg were right when for these services they called Kautsky a prostitute (*Madchen fur alle*).

In August, 1905, there was a revolutionary situation in Russia. The Tsar had promised to establish the Bulygin Duma to "console" the restless masses. The Bulygin regime of consultative representation could have been called ultra-autocracy in the same way in which the abandoning of armaments by the financiers and their agreeing on a "lasting peace" can be called ultra imperialism. Let us assume for a moment that to-morrow a hundred of the largest financiers of the world,

interlocked as they are in hundreds of colossal undertakings, *promise* the peoples to stand for disarmament after the war (we make this assumption just for a moment in order to draw political conclusions from Kautsky's foolish little theory). Even if that happened, it would be a betrayal of the proletariat to dissuade it from revolutionary actions without which all promises, all fine perspectives are a mere sham.

The war has brought the capitalist class not only gigantic profits and splendid perspectives of new robberies (Turkey, China, etc.), new billion contracts, new loans at an increased rate of interest, but it has brought the class of capitalists still greater political advantages in that it has split and demoralised the proletariat. Kautsky aids this demoralisation; he sanctions this international *split* of the fighting proletariat *in the name of unity* with the opportunists of "their own nation," with the Südekums! And still there are people who do not understand that the unity slogan of the old parties means "unity" of the proletariat with its bourgeoisie within the same nation and a *split* of the proletariat internationally.

VI

The above lines had been written when the *Neue Zeit* of May 28 (No. 9) appeared, with Kautsky's concluding arguments on the "collapse of the Social-Democracy" (paragraph 7 of his critical notes on Cunow). Kautsky summed up all his old sophisms in defence of social-chauvinism and added a new one in the following way:

> It is simply not true that the war is a purely imperialist one, that at the outbreak of the war the alternative was either imperialism or Socialism, that the Socialist parties and the proletarian masses of Germany, France, and in many respects also of England, obeying the call of a mere handful of parliamentarians, threw themselves into the arms of imperialism, betrayed Socialism and thus caused a collapse unexampled in history.

This is a new sophism and a new deception of the workers: the war, if you please, is not a "purely" imperialist one!

Kautsky is remarkably vacillating as to the character and meaning of the present war; this leader dodges the exact and formal declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz Congresses as carefully as a thief dodges the place of his last theft. In his pamphlet *Nationalstaat*, etc., written in February, 1915, Kautsky asserted that "in the last analysis, the war

is an imperialist one" (p. 64). Now a new reservation is introduced: not a *purely* imperialist one—what else then?

It appears that this is a national war as well! Kautsky arrives at this monstrous conclusion by means of the following somewhat "Plekhanovist" quasi-dialectics:

"The present war," he says, "is the child not only of imperialism but also of the Russian Revolution." He, Kautsky, as early as 1904 foresaw that the Russian Revolution would give rise to Pan-Slavism in a new form, that "democratic Russia would necessarily fan the desires of the Austrian and Turkish Slavs for national independence . . . that the Polish question would then also become acute . . . that Austria would then fall to pieces because, with the collapse of tsarism, the iron ring which at present holds the centrifugal elements together would then be destroyed." (This last phrase is quoted by Kautsky from his 1904 article). . . . "The Russian Revolution . . . has imparted a mighty impetus to the nationalist strivings of the Orient, adding the Asiatic problem to the problems of Europe. *All these problems* make themselves felt most acutely in the present war; they acquire a manifoldly decisive significance as regards the mood of the *masses of the people*, including the proletarian masses, at a time when imperialist tendencies are predominant among the ruling classes." (P. 273. Italics ours.)

Here is another lovely sample of prostituting Marxism! "Democratic Russia" would have fanned the strivings of the nations of Eastern Europe towards freedom (which is undisputed), *therefore* the present war that frees no nation and that, whatever its outcome, will oppress many a nation, is not a "purely" imperialist war; "the collapse of tsarism" would have meant a dissolution of Austria due to its undemocratic national composition, *therefore* the temporarily strengthened counter-revolutionary tsarism, robbing Austria and bringing *still greater* oppression to the nationalities of Austria, has lent "the present war" a character that is not purely imperialist but to a certain degree national. "The ruling classes" bamboozle narrow-minded petty bourgeois and browbeaten peasants by means of fables regarding the national aims of the imperialist war, *therefore* a man of science, an authority on Marxism, a representative of the Second International, has a right to reconcile the masses with this bamboozling by means of a "formula" to the effect that the ruling classes have imperialist tendencies, while the "people" and the proletarian masses have "national" tendencies.

Dialectics become the meanest and basest sophisms. The national element in the present war is represented *only* by the war of Serbia against Austria (which, by the way, was noted in the resolution of the Berne Conference of our party). Only in Serbia and among the Serbs do we find a national movement for freedom, a movement of long standing embracing millions of "national masses," and of which the present war of Serbia against Austria is a "continuation." Were this war isolated, *i.e.*, not connected with the general European war, with the selfish and predatory aims of England, Russia, etc., then all Socialists would be *obliged* to wish success to the Serbian *bourgeoisie*—this is the only correct and absolutely necessary conclusion to be drawn from the national element in the present war. Kautsky, the sophist, however, being in the service of the Austrian bourgeois clericals and generals, fails to draw just this particular conclusion!

Further, Marxist dialectics, being the last word of the scientific evolutionary method, forbid an isolated, *i.e.*, a one-sided and distorted view of an object. The national element of the Serbo-Austrian war has *no* significance, and can have none, in the general European war. If Germany wins she will throttle Belgium, swallow up one more portion of Poland, perhaps a portion of France, etc. If Russia wins she will throttle Galicia, swallow up one more portion of Poland, Armenia, etc. If the war ends in a draw, the old national oppression will remain. For Serbia, *i.e.*, perhaps for one per cent. of the participants of the present war, the war is a "continuation of politics" of the bourgeois movement for national freedom. For ninety-nine per cent the war is a continuation of the policy of imperialism, *i.e.*, of the decrepit bourgeoisie capable only of raping, not of freeing, nations. The Triple Entente, while "freeing" Serbia, is *selling* the interest of Serbian freedom to Italian imperialism as a reward for the latter's aid in robbing Austria.

All this is common knowledge, and all this is shamelessly distorted by Kautsky for the purpose of justifying the opportunists. There are no "pure" phenomena, and there can be none, either in nature or in society —this is exactly what Marxiam dialectics teach us; they stress the fact that the very idea of purity is a certain narrowness, a one-sidedness of the human mind that cannot embrace an object in all its totality and complexity. There is no "pure" capitalism in the world, and there can be none, but there always are *admixtures* either of feudalism or of the petty bourgeoisie, or something else. To dwell on the fact that the war

is not "purely" imperialist when there is a flagrant deception of "the masses of the people" by the imperialists who notoriously cover the aims of naked robbery by "national" phraseology, means, therefore, to be either an infinitely stupid pedant, or a pettifogger, or a deceiver. The core of the thing is just this, that Kautsky *supports* the deception of the people by the imperialists when he says that "for the mass of the people, including the proletarian masses," the problems of national freedom were of "decisive significance," whereas for the ruling classes the decisive factors were "imperialist tendencies" (p. 273), or when he "reinforces" this by a seemingly dialectic reference to the "infinite variety of reality" (p. 274). Reality is infinitely variegated; no doubt, this is gospel truth! But it is just as indisputably true that, in this infinite variety, there are two main and fundamental elements: the objective contents of the war as a "continuation of the policy" of imperialism, *i.e.*, of the robbing of foreign nations by the decrepit "great nations'" bourgeoisie (and their governments), whereas the prevailing subjective ideology consists of "national" phraseology that is being spread to fool the masses.

Kautsky's old sophism, here again repeated, namely, that "at the beginning of the war" the Left Wing looked upon the situation as presenting the alternative of either imperialism or Socialism, has already been analysed. This is a shameless sleight of hand, since Kautsky knows very well that the Left Wing put forth *another* alternative: either the party joins imperialist plunder and deception, or it preaches and prepares for revolutionary action. Kautsky knows also that *only* the censorship guards him against the Left Wing in Germany, making it impossible for them to disclose the true nature of the nonsensical fable which is being spread by him out of servility to Südekum.

As to the relation between the "proletarian masses" and a "handful of parliamentarians," here Kautsky advances one of the most threadbare objections:

> Let us leave out the Germans, he writes, so that we may not be defending ourselves; still, who would seriously undertake to assert that such men as Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov have become imperialists overnight, betraying Socialism? Let us leave aside the parliamentarians and the "functionaries" . . . [Kautsky obviously hints here at the magazine of Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, *Die Internationale*, where due contempt is accorded the policy of the functionaries, *i.e.*, the high official leaders of the

German Social-Democratic Party, its Central Committee, the *Vorstand*, its parliamentary group, etc.]. Who can assert that an order of a handful of parliamentarians alone is sufficient to make four millions of class-conscious German proletarians turn right-about-face within twenty-four hours in direct opposition to their former aims? If this were true, it would prove a terrible collapse, indeed, not only of our party, but also of the *masses* [Kautsky's italics]. If the masses were such a spineless herd of sheep, we could just as well let ourselves be buried [p. 274].

Politically and scientifically, Karl Kautsky, the great authority, has long buried himself by his conduct and by his collection of pitiful evasions. Whoever fails to understand or at least to feel this, is hopeless as far as Socialism is concerned. This is why the only correct tone was assumed in *Die Internationale* by Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and their adherents when they treated Kautsky and Co. as most despicable characters.

Think of it: On their attitude towards the war only "a handful of parliamentarians" and a handful of officials, journalists, etc., could express themselves more or less freely (*i.e.*, without being seized and taken to the barracks, without directly facing the firing squad). They voted freely, exercising their right, they could openly vote against the war—even in Russia there was no beating, no plunder, not even arrests for such a vote. Now Kautsky nobly puts at the door of the *masses* the betrayal and the supineness of that social *stratum* of whose connection with the tactics and ideology of opportunism the same Kautsky had written scores of times in the course of several years. The first and most fundamental demand of scientific research in general, and of Marxian dialectics in particular, is that a writer should examine the *connection* existing between the present struggle of tendencies within Socialism—the current that cries of treason and sounds the alarm bell and the one that sees no treason at all—and the struggle that preceded it for whole *decades*. Kautsky, however, does not mention a word about this; he does not even wish to raise the question of tendencies and *currents*. There were currents hitherto, he seems to say, there are none any more! There are only high-sounding names of authorities always revered by the souls of lackeys. It is particularly comfortable under such conditions to refer to each other and to cover up each other's "peccadillos" in a friendly fashion after the rule of claw me, claw thee. "What kind of opportunism is it, forsooth," Martov exclaimed at a lecture in Berne

(see No. 36, *Sotsial-Demokrat*) " when . . . Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky ! " " We must be more cautious in accusing such men as Guesde of opportunism," wrote Axelrod (*Golos*, Nos. 86 and 87). " I will not defend myself," Kautsky seconds in Berlin, " but . . . Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov ! " The cuckoo lauds the cock, that the cock may laud the cuckoo !*

Inspired by the zeal of a lackey, Kautsky in his writings fell so low that he even kissed Hyndman's lordly hand, picturing him as if he had only yesterday taken the side of imperialism, whereas, in the same *Neue Zeit* and in scores of Social-Democratic papers of the whole world, they were writing of Hyndman's imperialism for *many years* ! Had Kautsky, in good faith, interested himself in the political biographies of the *persons* mentioned by him, he would have tried to recall whether there had not been in those biographies such traits and events which, not " overnight " but during decades, had prepared their transition to imperialism ; whether Vaillant had not been held prisoner by the Jaurésists, and Plekhanov by the Mensheviks and Liquidators ; whether Guesde's political line had not been dying off before everybody's eyes in that typically lifeless, colourless, and insipid Guesdeist magazine, *Le Socialisme* [*Socialism*], which was incapable of taking any independent stand on any important question ; whether Kautsky himself (we add this for the benefit of those who, quite correctly, put him alongside Hyndman and Plekhanov) had not manifested lack of backbone in the question of Millerandism, at the beginning of the struggle against Bernsteinism, etc.

We do not notice the slightest shadow of interest on the part of Kautsky to examine scientifically the biographies of those leaders. Not an attempt is made to see whether those leaders defend themselves by *their own* arguments or by repeating the arguments of the opportunists and the bourgeoisie ; whether the actions of those leaders have acquired a serious political significance due to their own unusual influence or because they have joined somebody else's really " influential " policy supported by a military organisation, namely, the policy of the bourgeoisie ! Kautsky does not even make an approach towards examining this question. What he is concerned with is to throw dust into the eyes of the masses, to stun them by the sound of names of authorities, to

*This is a quotation from one of the fables of Krylov (1768-1844).—*Ed.*

prevent them from putting the disputed question in a clear light and examining it from all sides.'*

"... An order of a handful of parliamentarians proved sufficient to make four millions of class-conscious ... proletarians turn right-about-face. ..."

There is here not a single word of truth. The party organisation of the Germans contained, not four, but one million; the united will of this mass organisation, as is the case with every organisation, was expressed *only* through its united political centre, the "handful" which betrayed Socialism. Before this handful a question was placed; this handful was called to vote; it was in a position to vote; it was in a position to write articles, etc. As to the masses, they were not asked. Not only were they not allowed to vote, they were disunited and driven "by order," not of a handful of parliamentarians, but *by order of the military authorities*. The military organisation was at hand; in *this* organisation there was no betrayal of leaders; it called the masses *individually*, confronting each one with the ultimatum: "Either you go in the army, according to the advice of your leaders, or you will be shot." The masses could not act in an organised fashion because their organisation previously created (an organisation embodied in a "handful" of Legiens, Kautskys, Scheidemanns) had betrayed them. As for the creation of a *new* organisation, time is required, determination to throw out the old, rotten, obsolete organisation is required.

Kautsky attempts to beat his opponents, the Left Wing, by attributing to them a nonsensical idea: he says that, in their conception, the "masses," "in reply" to the war, were to make a revolution "within twenty-four hours," to introduce "Socialism" against imperialism; that otherwise, according to the Left Wing, the "masses" would have manifested "spinelessness and treason." Kautsky gloats here over the kind of drivel which the compilers of ignorant booklets for the bourgeoisie and

*Kautsky's references to Vaillant and Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov, are characteristic also in another connection. The frank imperialists of the Lensch and Haenisch variety (not to speak of the opportunists) refer to Hyndman and Plekhanov for the justification of *their* policy, and they have a *right* to do so. They tell the truth when they say it is the same policy. However, Kautsky speaks with disdain of Lensch and Haenisch, the radicals who turned towards imperialism. Kautsky thanks God that he does not resemble those Pharisees, that he disagrees with them, that he has remained a revolutionist—Kautsky is proud of it! *In reality* Kautsky's position is the same as theirs. Kautsky, the hypocritical chauvinist using sugary phrases, is much more hideous than the chauvinist simpletons, David and Heine, Lensch and Haenisch.

the police have hitherto used to "beat" the revolutionists. The Left Wing opponents of Kautsky know perfectly well that a revolution cannot be "made," that revolutions grow out of objectively ripened crises and sudden breaks in history that are independent of the will of parties and classes; that masses without organisation are deprived of a unified will; that the struggle against the strong terrorist military organisation of centralised states is a difficult and long affair. When their leaders betrayed them, the masses *could not* do anything at the crucial moment, whereas the "handful" of these leaders *could very well*, and were bound to, vote against appropriations, could take a stand against "civil peace" and the justification of the war, could express themselves as wishing the defeat of *their* governments, could set in motion an international apparatus for the propaganda on fraternisation in the trenches, could organise the distribution of illegal literature* which would preach the necessity of starting revolutionary activities, etc.

Kautsky knows perfectly well that it is just these or similar actions that the German Left Wing have in mind. They cannot speak of them directly under military censorship. Kautsky's desire to defend the opportunists at all costs leads him to the unexampled infamy of hiding behind the back of the military censors in attributing to the Left Wing obvious absurdities which he knows the censors will protect against refutations.

VII

The serious scientific and political question which Kautsky consciously evades by means of all sorts of tricks, thereby giving enormous pleasure to the opportunists, is this: How was it possible that the most eminent representatives of the Second International could betray Socialism?

This question must be examined, not from the standpoint of the biographies of one leader or the other. Their future biographers will

*Let us remember, *apropos* of this, that it would not have been necessary to close *all* Social-Democratic papers if the government had put a ban on writing about class hatred and class struggle. To agree not to write about this, as the *Vorwarts* did, was mean and cowardly. The *Vorwarts died* politically when it did it, and L. Martov was right when he said so. It was, however, possible to retain the legally appearing papers by declaring that they were non-partisan and *not Social-Democratic*, but serving the technical needs of a section of the workers, *i.e.*, that they were *non-political papers*. An underground Social-Democratic literature containing an *analysis* of the war, and openly published labour literature without such analysis, a literature that does not speak untruth but keeps silent about the truth—why should this not have been possible?

have to analyse the problem from this angle as well, but what interests the Socialist movement at present is not this, but the study of the historical origin, the conditions of existence, the significance and the strength of the social-chauvinist policy as such. (1) Where did social-chauvinism come from? (2) What gave it strength? (3) How must it be combated? Only this approach to the question is worth while, whereas the "personal" approach is practically an evasion, a sophist's trick.

To answer the first question we must examine, first, whether social-chauvinism is not *connected*, politically and ideologically, with some previous trend in Socialism, and second, what relation there is, from the standpoint of actual political divisions, between the present division of Socialists into opponents and defenders of social-chauvinism and those divisions which historically preceded it.

By social-chauvinism we understand the acceptance of the defence of the fatherland idea in the present imperialist war, the justification of an alliance between the Socialists, the bourgeoisie and the governments of "our" countries in this war, a refusal to preach and support proletarian-revolutionary activites against "our" bourgeoisie, etc. It is perfectly clear that the fundamentals of the political ideology of social-chauvinism perfectly coincide with the foundations of opportunism. It is *the same orientation*. Opportunism, in the war environment of 1914-1915, engenders social-chauvinism. The main thing in opportunism is the idea of class collaboration. The war drives this idea to the extreme, adding to its usual factors and stimuli a whole series of new and extraordinary ones, using special threats and violence to drive the sluggish and disunited mass of the population to co-operate with the bourgeoisie. This naturally widens the circle of adherents of opportunism and it explains sufficiently why many former radicals run over to this camp.

Opportunism means sacrificing to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers the fundamental interests of the masses, or, in other words, an alliance of a part of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat. The war makes such an alliance compulsory and particularly flagrant. For decades the source of opportunism lay in the peculiarities of such a period in the development of capitalism when the comparatively peaceful and civilised existence of a layer of privileged workers turned them "bourgeois," gave them crumbs from the profits of their own national capital, removed them from the

sufferings, miseries, and revolutionary sentiments of the ruined and impoverished masses. The imperialist war is a direct continuation and a culmination of such a state of affairs, because this is a war for the *privileges* of the great nations, for the reapportionment of the colonies among them, for their domination over other nations. To defend and to strengthen its privileged position of a " higher stratum " of the petty bourgeoisie or the aristocracy (and bureaucracy) of the working class—this is the natural continuation in war time of the petty-bourgeois opportunist hopes and tactics, this is the economic foundation of a social-imperialism of our days.*

The power of habit, the routine of a comparatively " peaceful " evolution, national prejudices, fear of acute breaks and disbelief in them—these were additional circumstances that strengthen opportunism. These facilitated hypocritical and cowardly reconciliation with opportunism, ostensibly only for a while, ostensibly only due to unusual causes and motives. The war has modified opportunism which had been nurtured for decades ; it lifted it to a higher plane ; it increased the number

*Here are a few examples showing how the imperialists and the bourgeoisie value the importance of " great nation " privileges and national privileges in general as a means of dividing the workers and distracting them from Socialism, The English imperialist Lucas, in a book entitled *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* Oxford 1912] recognises the legal disabilities of coloured people in the present British Empire [pp. 96-97] and remarks : " In our own Empire, where white workers and coloured workers are side by side, as in South Africa, it would be fair to say that they do not work on the same level, and that the white man is rather an overseer of, than the fellow-workman with, the coloured man " [p. 103]. Ervin Belger, a former secretary of the imperial alliance against Social-Democrats, in a pamphlet entitled *Social-Democracy after the War* (1915), praises the conduct of the Social Democrats, declaring that they must become a " pure labour party " [p. 43], a " national," a " German labour party " [p. 45], without " international, Utopian," " revolutionary " ideas [p. 44]. The German imperialist Sartorius von Waltershausen, in a book dealing with capital investment abroad (1907), blames the Social-Democrats for ignoring the " national welfare " [p. 438]—which consists in seizing colonies—and praises the English workers for their " realism," for instance for their struggle against immigration. The German diplomat Ruedorffer, in a book on the principles of world politics, accentuates the commonly known fact that the internationalisation of capital by no means eliminates a sharpened struggle of national capitalists for power and influence, for a " majority of stock " [p. 161]. The author notes that this sharpened struggle draws the workers into its current [p. 175]. The date of the book is October, 1913, and the author speaks with perfect clarity of the interests of capital [p. 157] as the cause of modern wars. He says that the question of " national tendency " becomes the " pivot " of Socialism [p. 176], that the governments have nothing to fear from the international manifestations of the Social-Democrats [p. 177], who in reality become more and more national [pp. 103, 110, 176]. International Socialism will be victorious, he says, if it extricates the workers from under the influence of nationality, since by violence alone nothing can be achieved. but it will suffer defeat if the national feeling takes the upper hand [pp. 173-174].

and the variety of its shadings; it augmented the ranks of its adherents; it enriched their arguments by a host of new sophisms; it amalgamated, so to speak, with the main current of opportunism many new streams and rivulets, but the main current has not disappeared. Quite the contrary.

Social-chauvinism is opportunism ripened to such an extent that the existence of this bourgeois abscess inside of the Socialist parties, as it was *hitherto*, becomes impossible.

Those who do not wish to see the most intimate and indissoluble connection that exists between social-chauvinism and opportunism, pick up individual cases and accidents—this or that opportunist, they say, has become an internationalist, this or that radical, a chauvinist. But this argument is entirely non-essential as far as the development of *currents* is concerned. For one thing, the economic foundation of chauvinism and opportunism in the labour movement is the same: it is an alliance between the none too numerous upper strata of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie strata, enjoying crumbs out of the privileges of "their" national capital as opposed to the masses of the proletarians, the masses of the workers and the oppressed in general. In the second place, the political ideology of both currents is the same. In the third place, the old division of Socialists into an opportunist and revolutionary wing characteristic of the period of the Second International (1889-1914), by and large corresponds to the new division into chauvinists and internationalists.

To realise the correctness of the last statement one has to remember that in social sciences, as in science in general, we ordinarily deal with *mass* phenomena, not with individual cases. If we take ten European countries, namely, Germany, England, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, we find that in the first eight the new division of Socialists (over the question of internationalism) corresponds to the old one (over the question of opportunism): in Germany the magazine *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which was the fortress of opportunism, has become the fortress of chauvinism, whereas the ideas of internationalism are advanced by the extreme Left group. In England, in the British Socialist Party, about three-sevenths are internationalists (66 votes for an international resolution and 84 against it, as shown by the latest counts), while in the opportunist bloc (Labour Party + Fabians + Independent Labour Party) *less* than one-seventh

are internationalists.* In Russia the fundamental nucleus of opportunism, the Liquidationist *Nasha Zarya*, became the fundamental nucleus of chauvinism. Plekhanov and Alexinsky make more noise, but we know from five years' experience (1910-1914) that they are incapable of conducting a systematic propaganda among the masses of Russia. The fundamental nucleus of the internationalists in Russia consists of "Pravdism" and of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party as a representative of the advanced workers who re-established the party in January, 1912.

In Italy, the party of Bissolati and Co., a purely opportunist one, became chauvinist. Internationalism there is represented by a *labour* party. The *masses* of the workers are for this party; the opportunists, the parliamentarians, the petty bourgeois are for chauvinism. In Italy it was possible for several months to make a free choice, and the choice was made, not by accident, but in conformity with the class situation of the rank and file proletarians on the one hand, and petty-bourgeois groups on the other.

In Holland, the opportunist party of Troelstra is making peace with chauvinism in general (one must not be deceived by the fact that, in Holland, the petty bourgeoisie no less than the big bourgeoisie hates Germany vehemently because the latter could most easily swallow both of them). Unflinching, sincere, ardent, convinced internationalists come from the Marxist party headed by Gorter and Pannekoek. In Sweden, the opportunist leader, Branting, is indignant over the fact that the German Socialists are blamed for betraying Socialism; in the same country, the leader of the Left Wing, Höglund, declares openly that some of his adherents do so blame the German Socialists (see *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 36). In Bulgaria, the opponents of opportunism, the "Tesnyaks," declare in their press [the paper *Novoye Vremya* [New Time] that the German Social-Democrats have "committed a filthy act." In Switzerland, the adherents of the opportunist, Greulich, are inclined to justify the German Social-Democrats (see their organ, the Zurich *Volksrecht* [*People's Right*]), whereas the adherents of the much more radical

*It is customary to compare the Independent Labour Party *alone* with the British Socialist Party. This is not correct. One must look, not at the organisational forms, but at the essentials. Take the dailies: there were two of them, one, the *Daily Herald*, belonging to the British Socialist Party, another, the *Daily Citizen*, belonging to the bloc of the opportunists. The daily papers express the actual work of propaganda, agitation and organisation.

R. Grimm have turned the Berne paper [*Berner Tagwacht*] into an organ of the German Left Wing. Exceptions to the rule are only two countries out of ten, France and Belgium, but even here we in reality observe not an absence of internationalists but their excessive weakness and oppressed mood [due partly to causes that are easily understood]. Let us not forget that Vaillant himself has admitted in *L'Humanite* [*Humanity*] that he received from his readers, letters of an international orientation of which he published *not a single one* in full!

If we take trends and currents we cannot fail to realise that, by and large, it was the opportunist wing of European Socialism that betrayed Socialism and went over to chauvinism. Whence comes its power, its seeming omnipotence within the official parties? Kautsky knows very well how to raise historical questions, particularly when he deals with ancient Rome or similar matters not very close to real life, but now, when he is personally concerned, he hypocritically feigns lack of understanding. However, the thing is clear beyond misunderstanding. The gigantic power of the opportunists and chauvinists comes *from their alliance* with the bourgeoisie, the governments and the general staffs. This is often overlooked in Russia where it is assumed that the opportunists are a *section* of the Socialist parties, that there always have been and will be two wings within those parties, that the thing to do is to avoid "extremes," etc., etc.—all that stuff which one finds in philistine copybooks.

In reality, the formal adherence of the opportunists to labour parties does by no means do away with the fact that, objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, that they are transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement. When Südekum, the famous opportunist, had openly and brazenly, Herostrates* fashion, demonstrated this social truth, this *class* truth, many good people gasped. The French Socialists and Plekhanov pointed their fingers at Südekum (although had Vandervelde, Sembat or Plekhanov looked in the mirror they would have seen nobody but Südekum, with only a few different national traits). The members of the German Central Committee, who now praise Kautsky and are praised by Kautsky, hastened to declare, cautiously, modestly and politely (without naming Südekum), that they were "not in agreement" with Südekum's line.

*Herostrates burned the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, 356 B.C., in order to perpetuate his name.—*Ed.*

This is ridiculous, because in reality, in the practical politics of the German Social-Democratic Party, Südekum alone proved at the crucial moment stronger than a hundred Haases and Kautskys (just as the *Nasha Zarya* alone is stronger than all the currents of the Brussels bloc who are afraid to split from it).

Why is it so? Because behind Südekum there stand the bourgeoisie, the government, and the general staff of a great nation. They support Südekum's policies in a thousand ways, whereas the policies of his opponents are frustrated by all means, including prison and the firing squad. Südekum's voice is broadcast by the bourgeois press in millions of copies of papers (so are the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, Plekhanov), whereas the voice of his opponent *cannot* be heard in the openly published press because there is military censorship.

All agree that opportunism is no accident, no sin, no slip, no betrayal on the part of individual persons, but the social product of a whole historical epoch. Not all, however, are trying to understand the full significance of this truth. Opportunism has been reared by legalism. The labour parties of the period between 1889 and 1914 had to utilise bourgeois legality. When the crisis came, illegal work became a necessity, but this is impossible without the greatest exertion of energy and determination, combined with real military strategy. To prevent such a change Südekum *alone* is sufficient, because back of him there is the whole " old world " (speaking in an historical and philosophical sense), because he, Südekum, has always betrayed and will always betray to the bourgeoisie all the military plans of its class enemy (speaking in the practical political sense).

It is a fact that the whole of the German Social-Democratic party (the same being true about the French *and other parties*) does *only that* which is pleasant to Südekum, or which can be tolerated by Südekum. Nothing else is *possible* legally; everything *honest*, everything really Socialist that is done within the German Social-Democratic Party, is done *against* its centre, is done in *avoiding* its Central Committee and Central Organ, is done by a *breach* of organisational discipline, is done factionally on behalf of anonymous new centres of a new party, as was the case, for instance, with the appeal of the German Left Wing published in the *Berner Tagwacht* on May 31 of the present year. A *new* party actually grows, gains strength, is being organised, a real workers' party, a revolutionary, Social-Democratic party quite different from the old, rotten,

national-liberal party of Legien, Südekum, Kautsky, Haase, Scheidemann and Co.*

It was, therefore, a profound historic truth that was blurted out by that opportunist, Monitor, when he said in the conservative *Preussische Jahrbucher* that it would be bad for the opportunists (*read*: the *bourgeoisie*) if present-day Social-Democracy were to move *further to the right*—because the workers would then quit it. The opportunists (and the bourgeoisie) need the party as it exists at present, a party *combining* the "Right" and the "Left" Wings and officially represented by Kautsky, who will reconcile everything in the world by means of smooth, "thoroughly Marxian" phrases. Socialism and revolution in words, for the people, for the masses, for the workers; Südekumism in practice, *i.e.*, joining the bourgeoisie in every serious crisis. We say: *every* crisis, because this is not confined to war time; should a serious political strike take place, "feudal" Germany as well as "free and parliamentary" England or France will *immediately* introduce martial law under one name or another. This cannot be doubted by any one of sound mind and in full possession of his senses.

There follows from here the answer to the question raised before: how to fight against social-chauvinism? Social-chauvinism is opportunism that has so much ripened, has become so strong and brazen during the long period of comparatively "peaceful" capitalism, is so outspoken in its political ideology, and is in such close proximity to the bourgeoisie and the government, that it is *impossible* to tolerate its existence within a Social-Democratic Labour Party. It may be possible to stand thin, flimsy shoe soles when walking over the sidewalks of a small provincial town, but it is impossible to get along without thick hobnailed soles when you climb mountains. Socialism in Europe has

*What happened prior to the historic voting of August 4 is extremely characteristic. The official party has cast the cloak of bureaucratic hypocrisy over this event, saying that the majority had decided and that all had noted unanimously *for* the war. Strobel, in the magazine *Die Internationale*, however, unmasked this hypocrisy and told the truth. It appears that there were *two* groups within the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction, that each one came with its *ultimatum*, *i.e.*, with a factional decision, *i.e.* with a decision meaning a split. One group, that of the opportunists, about thirty strong, decided to vote *for* and to do so *under all circumstances*; the other, a "Left" one, of fifteen men, decided—less resolutely—to vote *against*. When the "centre" or the "swamp," having no firm stand, had voted with the opportunists, the "Left" found themselves crushingly defeated and—they submitted! The "unity" of the German Social-Democracy is rank hypocrisy; it covers up a practically inevitable submission of the "Left" to the ultimatums of the opportunists.

outlived that comparatively peaceful stage when it was confined within the narrow boundaries of nationality. After the war of 1914-1915, it entered a stage of revolutionary action, and a complete break with opportunism, the expulsion of opportunism from the labour parties, has become an imperative necessity.

It is quite obvious that this outline of the tasks facing Socialism in the new era of its international development does not indicate directly how fast and in what definite forms the process of separation of the workers' revolutionary Social-Democratic parties from petty-bourgeois opportunist parties will take place. It does indicate, however, that it is necessary clearly to realise the inevitability of such a separation and to direct accordingly the politics of the workers' parties. The war of 1914-1915 is a break in history of such magnitude that the attitude towards opportunism *cannot* remain as of old. It is impossible to make non-existent the things that have happened, and it is impossible to strike out either from the consciousness of the workers or from the experience of the bourgeoisie, or from the political acquisitions of our epoch the fact that, at the moment of crisis, the opportunists proved to be the nucleus of those elements within the labour parties who went over to the bourgeoisie. Pre-war opportunism—speaking on a general European scale—was in an adolescent stage, as it were. With the war it grew; it can no more be made "innocent" or youthful. There has ripened a social layer of parliamentarians, journalists, labour movement officials, privileged office holders, and some small groups of the proletariat; this layer has become one with its national bourgeoisie and has been appreciated and "assimilated" by it. It is not possible either to turn backwards or to stop the wheel of history—it is possible and it is necessary to go fearlessly ahead, from lawfully existing preparatory organisations of the working class, which have been captured by the opportunists, to revolutionary organisations that know how *not* to confine themselves to legality, that are capable of making themselves immune against opportunist betrayal—organisations of the proletariat that undertake the "struggle for power," a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This, by the way, proves how incorrect are the views of those who befog their minds and the minds of the workers with the question of what to do with such authorities of the Second International as Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky, etc. There is no real question involved here. If

those persons will not understand the new tasks, they will have to stay outside or remain in the opportunist captivity in which they find themselves at present. If those persons free themselves from "captivity," they will hardly encounter *political* obstacles on their way back to the camp of the revolutionists. At any rate, it is senseless to substitute the question of the role of individual persons for the question of the struggle of policies and the sequence of epochs in the labour movement.

VIII

Legally existing mass organisations of the working class are perhaps the most outstanding feature of the Socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International. In the German party they were the strongest, and it was here that the war of 1914-1915 created the most acute crisis, and rendered the question most urgent. It is obvious that to start revolutionary activities would have meant to see the legally existing organisation disbanded by the police. The old party, from Legien to Kautsky inclusive, sacrificed the revolutionary aims of the proletariat to the maintenance of the present organisations. No amount of denying can vitiate this fact. For a mess of pottage given to the organisations that are recognised by the present police law, the proletarian right of revolution was sold.

Take a pamphlet by Karl Legien, leader of the German Social-Democratic labour unions, entitled *Warum mussen die Gewerkschaftsfunktionare sich mehr am inneren Parteileben beteiligen* [*Why the Trade Union Functionaries Must Take a More Active Part in the Internal Life of the Party*] (Berlin, 1915). This is a report read by the author on January 27, 1915, before a gathering of labour union officials. Legien read during his report, and incorporated in his pamphlet, a most interesting document, that would not otherwise have been passed by the military censor. This document—the so-called *Referenten-Material des Kreises Neiderbarnim* [*Materials for Speakers in the District of Neiderbarnim*] (a suburb of Berlin)—is an exposition of the views of the Left Wing Social-Democrats, of their protest against the party. The revolutionary Social-Democrats, says the document, did not and could not foresee one event, namely:

> The entire organised power of the German Social-Democratic Party and the labour unions taking the side of the belligerent government, and the utilisation of this power to suppress the revolutionary energy of the masses. [P. 34 of Legien's pamphlet.]

This is absolute truth. The following statement contained in the same document is also true :

> **The vote of the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction on August 4 proved that a different attitude, even had it been deeply rooted in the masses, could have asserted itself, not under the leadership of the established party, but only against the will of the party leaderships, and by overcoming the resistance of the party and the labour unions. [*Ibid.*]**

This is absolute truth.

> **Had the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction done its duty on August 4 [the document continues], the present form of organisation would probably have been annihilated ; the spirit, however, would have remained, that which animated the party under the Anti-Socialist Law and helped it to overcome all difficulties. [*Ibid.*]**

Legien's pamphlet notes that the company of " leaders " whom he had gathered to listen to his report and whom he calls directors, officers of the labour unions, roared when they heard this. They found it a *ridiculous* idea that it was possible and necessary to organise illegal revolutionary organisations at the moment of crisis as was done under the Anti-Socialist Law. Legien, the most faithful watchdog of the bourgeoisie, beat his breast, exclaiming :

> **This . . . contains a clear Anarchist thought : to blow up the organisation in order to make the masses solve the problem. There is no doubt in my mind that this is an Anarchist idea !**

" Quite right ! " exclaimed in a chorus [*ibid.*, p. 37] the lackeys of the bourgeoisie who call themselves leaders of the Social-Democratic organisations of the working class.

An instructive picture. People are so degraded and dulled by bourgeois legality that they cannot even *understand* the idea of the necessity of *other* organisations, *unlawful ones*, leading the revolutionary struggle. People have fallen so low that they imagine that the unions owing their existence to police permits are a limit which cannot be trespassed—as if it were generally conceivable to *maintain* such unions as *leading* organisations in periods of crises ! Here you see the dialectics of opportunism in action : the mere growth of legally existing unions, the mere habit of stupid but conscientious philistines who confine themselves to bookkeeping, creates a situation where, at the time of crises, these

conscientious petty bourgeois prove to be traitors, betrayers, *stranglers* of the revolutionary energy of the masses. And this is no accident either. It is necessary to proceed to the building up of a revolutionary organisation—this is demanded by a changed historical situation, it is demanded by the era of revolutionary activities of the proletariat. To proceed in this direction, however, is possible only *over the heads* of the old leaders, the stranglers of revolutionary energy, *over the heads* of the old party by *destroying it*.

Of course, the counter-revolutionary philistines cry "Anarchism!" as did the opportunist, Edouard David, when he denounced Karl Liebknecht. It appears that in Germany only those leaders have remained honest whom the opportunists revile as Anarchists.

Take the present army. It is one of the good examples of organisation. This organisation is good only because it is *flexible*; at the same time it knows how to give to millions of people *one uniform will*. To-day these millions are in their homes in various parts of the country. To-morrow a call for mobilisation is issued, and they gather at the appointed centres. To-day they lie in the trenches, sometimes for months at a stretch; to-morrow they are led into battle in another formation. To-day they perform marvels, hiding themselves from bullets and shrapnel; to-morrow they do marvels in open combat. To-day their advance detachments place mines under the ground; to-morrow they move dozens of miles according to the advice of flyers above ground. We call it organisation when, in the pursuit of one aim, animated by one will, millions change the forms of their intercourse and their actions, change the place and the method of their activities, change the weapons and armaments in accordance with changing conditions and the vicissitudes of the struggle.

The same holds true about the fight of the working class against the bourgeoisie. To-day there is no revolutionary situation apparent; there are no such conditions as would cause a ferment among the masses or heighten their activities; to-day you are given an election ballot—take it. Understand how to organise for it, to hit your enemies with it, and not to place men in soft parliamentary berths who cling to their seat in fear of prison. To-morrow you are deprived of the election ballot, you are given a rifle and a splendid machine gun equipped according to the last word of machine technique—take this weapon of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental whiners who are afraid of

war. Much has been left in the world that *must* be destroyed by fire and iron for the liberation of the working class. And if bitterness and despair grow in the masses, if a revolutionary situation is at hand, prepare to organise new organisations and *utilise* these so useful weapons of death and destruction *against your own government* and *your* bourgeoisie.

This is not easy, to be sure. It will demand difficult preparatory activities. It will demand grave sacrifices. This is a *new* species of organisation and struggle that *one must learn*, and learning is never done without errors and defeats. The relation of this species of class struggle to participation in elections is the same as storming a fortress is to manoeuvring, marching, or lying in the trenches. This species of struggle is placed on the order of the day in history *very infrequently*, but its significance and its consequences are felt for decades. Single *days* when *such* methods can and must be put on the programme of struggle are equal to *scores of years* of other historic epochs.

Compare K. Kautsky with K. Legien.

> As long as the party was small [Kautsky writes], every protest against the war had propaganda value as an act of bravery. . . . As such, the admirable conduct of the . . . Russian and Serbian comrades met with general approval. The stronger a party becomes, the more the propaganda considerations are interwoven with a calculation of the practical consequences in the motives of its decisions, and the more difficult it becomes to give the separate motives equal due ; nevertheless, one kind must no more be neglected than the other. Therefore, the stronger we become, the more easily do differences arise between us in every new complicated situation. [*Die Internationalitat und der Krieg* (*Internationalism and the War*), p. 30.]

These reasonings of Kautsky's differ from Legien's only by their hypocrisy and cowardice. Kautsky, in substance, supports and justifies the contemptible renunciation of revolutionary activities on the part of Legien, but he does it stealthily, without expressing himself definitely, getting off with hints, confining himself to bowing both before Legien and before the revolutionary conduct of the Russians. Such an attitude towards the revolutionists we Russians are wont to find only among the liberals. The liberals are always ready to recognise the " courage " of the revolutionists ; at the same time, however, they will not renounce

their arch-opportunist tactics at any price. Self-respecting revolutionists will not accept the expression of "approval" on the part of Kautsky; on the contrary, they will indignantly repudiate such an approach to the question. If there is no revolutionary situation at hand, if it is not imperative to preach revolutionary action, then the conduct of the Russians and Serbians is *incorrect*, then their tactics are wrong. Let such knights as Legien and Kautsky at least have the courage of their convictions, let them say it openly.

If, however, the tactics of the Russian and Serbian comrades deserve "approval," then it is not permissible, it is criminal, to justify the *opposite* tactics of the "strong" parties, the Germans, the French, etc. By means of an intentionally vague expression, "practical consequences," Kautsky *covered up* that plain truth that the great and strong parties *became afraid* of their organisations being disbanded, their treasuries seized, their leaders arrested by the governments. This means that Kautsky justifies betrayal of Socialism by considerations of the unpleasant "practical consequences" that follow revolutionary tactics. If this is not prostituting Marxism, what is?

"We would have been arrested," one of the Social-Democratic Deputies who voted for military appropriations on August 4 is alleged to have declared at a workers' meeting in Berlin. And the workers shouted in reply: "Well, what's wrong with that?"

In the absence of any other sign to serve as a signal for the working masses of Germany *and France*, to convey to them revolutionary sentiments and the idea of preparing for revolutionary activities, the arrest of a Deputy for a courageous speech would have played the excellent role of a clarion call; it would have helped *unite* the proletarians of various countries in revolutionary work. Such uniting *is not easy*: the more obligatory was it for those on top, for those Deputies who have a view of the entire political field, *to take the initiative.*

Not only in war time, but positively in every acute political situation, not to speak of periods of real revolutionary activities on the part of the masses, the governments of even the freest bourgeois countries will threaten to disband the legally existing organisations, to seize their treasuries, to arrest the leaders, and to bring about similar "practical consequences." What, then, shall we do? Justify, with Kautsky, the opportunists? But this would mean to turn the Social-Democratic parties into national-liberal labour parties.

For a Socialist there can be only one conclusion: the pure legalism, the legalism at any price, of the "European" parties, has outlived itself; in consequence of the development of capitalism in the pre-imperialist stage, it has become the foundation for a bourgeois labour policy. It must be supplemented by the creation of an illegally existing base, an illegally existing organisation, illegal Social-Democratic work, at the same time not giving up any one of the legal positions. *How* this can be done will be shown by experience. Let there only be the wish to take this road, let there be the consciousness of its necessity. The revolutionary Social-Democrats of Russia proved in 1912-1914 that this problem can be solved. The workers' Deputy Muranov, who conducted himself at the trial better than any other, and who was exiled by tsarism to Siberia, proved in practice that, outside of *ministerial* parliamentarism (from Henderson, Sembat, and Vandervelde down to Südekum and Scheidemann who are also perfectly and completely "ministerial," although they are not admitted further than the anteroom!) there can be an *illegal* and *revolutionary* parliamentarism.

Let the Kossovskys and Potresovs be delighted with the "European" parliamentarism of the lackeys—we shall not tire of telling the workers that such legalism, such Social-Democracy as that of Legien, Kautsky, Scheidemann, deserve only contempt.

IX

Let us sum up. The collapse of the Second International came into the clearest relief in the flagrant betrayal by the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties of Europe of their convictions and of their solemn Stuttgart and Basle resolutions. However, this collapse which means the complete victory of opportunism, the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties into national-liberal labour parties, is only a result of the entire historical epoch of the Second International, which covers the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The objective conditions of this epoch—a transition period from the completion in Western Europe of bourgeois and national revolutions to the beginning of Socialist revolutions—gave birth to and nurtured opportunism. In some countries of Europe we observed at that time a split in the labour and Socialist movement, a split generally defined by the attitude towards opportunism (England, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria, Russia), in others, a long and stubborn struggle of currents

along the same line (Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland). The crisis that was created by the great war has torn off the coverings, has cast away the conventions, has opened the abscess that had long ago become ripe, and has shown opportunism in its true role as an ally of the bourgeoisie. A complete separation of the labour parties from this element, a definite organisational break, has become a necessity. The imperialist epoch cannot tolerate the existence in one party of an advance-guard of the revolutionary proletariat on the one hand, and of the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class which enjoys crumbs from the privileges of the "great nation" situation on the other. The old theory of opportunism as a "legitimate shade" of one-and-the-same party that avoids "extremes," has now turned into the greatest betrayal of the workers and the greatest hindrance to the labour movement. There is less danger in open opportunism, which by one shock repels the working masses, than in this theory of the golden middle road which by Marxian verbiage justifies opportunist practice, and by a series of sophisms proves the untimeliness of revolutionary action, etc. The most notable representative of this theory, at the same time the greatest authority in the Second International, Kautsky, has revealed himself as a first-class hypocrite and virtuoso in the work of prostituting Marxism. In the German party, which is a million strong, there is not one half-way honest, class-conscious and revolutionary Social-Democrat who does not turn away with indignation from such a "leader," who is ardently defended by the Südekums and Scheidemanns.

The proletarian masses, about nine-tenths of whose old leading elements have gone over to the bourgeoisie, find themselves scattered and helpless in face of a debauch of chauvinism, in face of a barrier of martial law and military censorship. However, the objective revolutionary situation created by the war and becoming ever wider and ever deeper, inevitably gives birth to revolutionary sentiments; it hardens and enlightens the best and most conscious proletarians. A sudden change in the mood of the masses becomes not only possible but more and more probable, a change similar to that which was observed in Russia early in 1905 in connection with the "Gaponade,"* when backward proletarian masses grew in several months, and sometimes in several weeks, into an army of millions following the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It is impossible to know whether a powerful

*The peaceful demonstration led by the priest Gapon, Jan. 22, 1905.—*Ed.*

revolutionary movement will develop immediately after *this* war, or during it, etc. At any rate *only* work in this direction deserves the name of Socialist work. The slogan that generalises and directs this work, that helps to unite and consolidate those who wish to aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against its government and its bourgeoisie, is the slogan of civil war.

In Russia, the complete separation of the revolutionary Social-Democratic proletarian elements from the petty-bourgeois opportunists has been prepared by the whole history of the labour movement. Bad service is rendered it by those who disregard history, who, declaiming against "factionalism," deprive themselves of the possibility of understanding the real process of the formation of a proletarian party in Russia. That party was actually formed in the course of a struggle against various kinds of opportunism, a struggle lasting several years. Of all the "great" nations participating in the present war, only Russia has recently gone through a revolution. The bourgeois aims of a revolution in which the proletariat played a decisive role could not fail to call forth a split between the bourgeois and proletarian trends in the labour movement. During a period of approximately twenty years (1894-1914) when Russian Social-Democracy existed as an organisation connected with the mass labour movement (and not only as an ideological current as in 1883-1894), a struggle was going on between the proletarian revolutionary and the petty-bourgeois opportunist tendencies. The "Economism" of 1894-1902 was undoubtedly a tendency of the latter kind. A whole series of its arguments and traits of its ideology—the "Struveist" distortion of Marxism, references to the "masses" to justify opportunism, etc.—bear a striking resemblance to the present vulgarised Marxism of Kautsky, Cunow, Plekhanov, etc. It would be a highly useful task to remind the present generation of Social-Democrats of the old *Rabochaya Mysl* [*Worker's Thought*] and *Rabocheye Dyelo* [*Worker's Cause*] as a parallel to the Kautsky of to-day.

The "Menshevism" of the following (1903-1908) period was a direct successor, both ideological and organisational, to Economism. During the Russian Revolution it followed tactics that meant, objectively, the dependence of the proletariat upon the liberal bourgeoisie and that were an expression of petty-bourgeois opportunism. When in the following period (1908-1914) the main current of Menshevism gave birth to Liquidationism, the class significance of this current became so

apparent that the best representatives of Menshevism continually protested against the policy of the *Nasha Zarya* group. This group, however—the only one which, in opposition to the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, conducted systematic work among the masses in the last five or six years—proved in the war of 1914-1915 to be *social chauvinist*! This in a country where absolutism is alive; where the bourgeois revolution is far from being completed; where forty-three per cent. of the population oppresses the majority of "alien" nationalities. The "European" type of development where certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the intelligentsia and an insignificant portion of the labour aristocracy, can "make use" of the privileges accruing to "their" nation as one of the "great nations," has had its counterpart also in Russia.

Both the working class and the workers' Social-Democratic Party of Russia have been prepared by their whole history for "internationalist," *i.e.*, truly revolutionary and consistently revolutionary, tactics.

P.S. This article had been set up when the papers published a "manifesto" of Kautsky and Haase in common with Bernstein. Those gentlemen have noted that the masses are going to the Left, and are now ready to "make peace" with the Left Wing—naturally, at the price of maintaining "peace" with the Südekums. *Mädchen für alle*, indeed!

THE WAR AND RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

THE European War, which the governments and the bourgeois parties of all countries were preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the sharpening of the struggle for markets in the epoch of the latest, the imperialist, stage in the development of capitalism of the foremost countries, the dynastic interests of the most backward East European monarchies, were inevitably bound to bring about, and did bring about, the present war. To seize lands and to conquer foreign nations, to ruin competing nations, to pillage their wealth, to divert the attention of the labouring masses from the domestic political crises of Russia, Germany, England, and other countries, to disunite the workers and fool them with nationalism, to annihilate their vanguards in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, such is the only real essence, the significance and the meaning of the present war.

Upon Social-Democracy, in the first place, devolves the duty to make clear this real meaning of the war, and mercilessly to unmask the falsehoods, the sophisms and the "patriotic" phrases which are spread by the ruling classes, the landowners and the bourgeoisie, in defence of the war.

One of the belligerent groups of nations is headed by the German bourgeoisie. It has fooled the working class and the labouring masses by asserting that it wages the war for the defence of the fatherland, liberty, and civilisation, for the liberation of the peoples that are oppressed by tsarism, for the destruction of reactionary tsarism. In reality, that same bourgeoisie, servile in face of the Prussian Junkers with Wilhelm II at their head, has always been the most faithful ally of tsarism and the enemy of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Russia. In reality, that bourgeoisie will, together with the Junkers,

directs all its efforts, no matter what the outcome of the war may be, to support the tsarist monarchy against a revolution in Russia.

In reality, the German bourgeoisie undertook a predatory campaign against Serbia with the aim of subjugating it and throttling the national revolution of the Southern Slavs, at the same time directing the bulk of its military forces against freer countries, Belgium and France, in order to pillage the richer competitor. The German bourgeoisie, spreading the fable of a defensive war on its part, in reality chose the moment which was most propitious for its warfare, utilising its latest improvements in military technique and forestalling the new armaments that had already been mapped out and approved of by Russia and France.

At the head of the other group of belligerent nations are the English and French bourgeoisie which fool the working class and the labouring masses by asserting that this group leads a war for the fatherland, freedom and civilisation against the militarism and despotism of Germany. In reality, this bourgeoisie has long been buying for its billions, and preparing for an attack on Germany, the armies of Russian tsarism, the most reactionary and barbarous monarchy of Europe.

In reality, the task of the struggle of the English and French bourgeoisie is to seize the German colonies and to ruin a competing nation which is distinguished by a more rapid economic development. For this noble aim, the "advanced" democratic nations are helping ferocious tsarism still more to choke Poland, the Ukraine, etc., still more to throttle the revolution in Russia.

Neither of the two groups of belligerent countries is behind the other in robberies, bestialities and endless brutalities of war. But in order to fool the proletarians and detract their attention from the only war for real freedom, namely, a civil war against the bourgeoisie both of "their own" and "foreign" countries, in order to further this noble aim the bourgeoisie of each country strives, by means of patriotic phrases, to extol the significance of "its own" national war and to assert that it strives to vanquish the adversary not for the sake of robbery and seizure of lands, but for the sake of "liberating" all the other peoples except its own.

But the greater the efforts of the governments and the bourgeoisie of all countries to disunite the workers and to pit them one against

the other, the more ferociously they use for this lofty purpose a system of martial law and military censorship (which measures even now, in time of war, are more successful against the "enemy within" than against the enemy without), the more urgent is the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, its Socialist convictions against the orgy of chauvinism of the "patriotic" bourgeois cliques of all countries. To repudiate this task would, on the part of the class-conscious workers, mean to renounce all their striving towards freedom and democracy, not to speak of Socialism.

With a feeling of deepest chagrin it must be stated that the Socialist parties of the leading European countries have not fulfilled this duty of theirs, while the behaviour of the leaders of those parties—particularly that of the German party—borders on direct betrayal of the cause of Socialism. At this moment, which is of the greatest importance in world history, the majority of the leaders of the present, the Second (1889-1914) Socialist International, are attempting to substitute nationalism for Socialism. Thanks to their behaviour, the workers' parties of those countries have not counterposed their position to the criminal behaviour of the governments; on the contrary, they are appealing to the working class to identify its position with the position of the imperialist governments. The leaders of the International committed treachery with regard to Socialism when they voted for military appropriations, when they repeated the chauvinist ("patriotic") slogans of the bourgeoisie of "their" countries, when they justified and defended the war, when they entered the bourgeois cabinets of the belligerent countries, etc., etc. The point of view of the most influential Socialist leaders, and of the most influential organs of the Socialist press of present-day Europe, is chauvinist, bourgeois and liberal, not Socialist at all. The responsibility for thus covering Socialism with shame rests, in the first place, on the German Social-Democrats who were the strongest and most influential party of the Second International. However, one cannot justify the French Socialists either, who took ministerial posts in the government of the same bourgeoisie which betrayed its fatherland and allied itself with Bismarck to crush the Commune.

The German and Austrian Social-Democrats try to justify their support of the war by saying that thereby they struggle against tsarism. We Russian Social-Democrats declare that we consider such a justification to be a downright sophism. The revolutionary movement against

tsarism in our country has again assumed tremendous proportions in the last years. The Russian working class has always marched at the head of this movement. The political strikes of the last years, embracing millions of workers, proceeded under the slogan of overthrowing tsarism and establishing a democratic republic. On the very eve of the war, the President of the French Republic, Poincaré, while visiting Nicholas II, could see with his own eyes barricades constructed by the hands of the Russian workers in the streets of St. Petersburg. The Russian proletariat did not stop before any sacrifice to free humanity from the shame of tsarism. We must say that if there is anything that, under certain conditions, may delay the destruction of tsarism, if there is anything that may help tsarism in its struggle against the whole of Russian democracy, it is the present war, which has placed at the disposal of tsarism for the furthering of its reactionary aims, the purse of the English, French, and Russian bourgeoisie. And if there is anything that can make the revolutionary struggle of the Russian working class against tsarism more difficult, it is the behaviour of the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy, a behaviour continually held up by the chauvinist press of Russia as an example for us.

Even if we assume that German Social-Democracy was so weak that it was compelled to abandon every kind of revolutionary action, even then it should not have joined the chauvinist camp, it should not have taken steps which gave occasion to the Italian Socialists justly to declare that the leaders of the German Social-Democrats were debasing the banner of the proletarian International.

Our party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, has suffered, and will yet suffer, great losses in connection with the war. All our legal labour press has been annihilated. The majority of the labour unions have been closed, a multitude of our comrades have been imprisoned and deported. But our parliamentary representatives—the Russian Social-Democratic Labour fraction in the Imperial Duma—considered it its unquestionable Socialist duty not to vote for military appropriations and even to leave the meeting hall of the Duma in order more energetically to express its protest; it considered it its duty to brand the politics of the European governments as imperialist. Notwithstanding the tenfold increased oppression by the Tsar's government, our comrade workers in Russia are already publishing their first illegal appeals against the war, doing their duty by democracy and by the International.

If the representatives of revolutionary Social-Democracy, the minority of the German Social-Democrats, and the best Social-Democrats in the neutral countries, are experiencing a burning feeling of shame over this collapse of the Second International; if voices of Socialists against the chauvinism of the majority of the Social-Democratic parties are becoming audible both in England and in France; if the opportunists, represented, for instance, by the German monthly, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, who had long occupied a national-liberal position, are justly celebrating their victory over European Socialism—then the worst service is being rendered to the proletariat by those who vacillate between opportunism and revolutionary Social-Democracy (like the "centre" in the German Social-Democratic Party), who attempt to pass over in silence or to cover up with diplomatic phrases the collapse of the Second International.

On the contrary, it is necessary openly to recognise this collapse and understand its causes in order to be able to build a new, a more lasting Socialist unification of the workers of all countries.

The opportunists have set at naught the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen, and Basle Congresses, which made it the duty of the Socialists of all countries to fight against chauvinism under all possible conditions, which made it the duty of Socialists to react against any war begun by the bourgeoisie and the governments by increasing propaganda of civil war and social revolution. The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism which was growing on the soil of a specific (the so-called "peaceful") historic epoch now passed, and which practically dominated the International in the last years. The opportunists had long been preparing this collapse by rejecting the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by repudiating the class struggle with its inevitable transformation into civil war at certain moments, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the name of patriotism and defence of the fatherland and ignoring or repudiating the fundamental truth of Socialism early expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*, namely, that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in their struggle against militarism to a sentimental, philistine point of view instead of recognising the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by turning the necessary utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois

legality into a fetish of this legality and into forgetfulness of the duty to have illegal forms of organisation and agitation in times of crises. A natural " supplement " of opportunism, as bourgeois as the latter and as hostile to the proletarian, *i.e.*, the Marxian, point of view, is the anarcho-syndicalist current which became marked in the present crisis by a no less shamefully self-satisfied repetition of the slogans of chauvinism than that of the opportunists.

It is impossible to carry out the tasks of Socialism at the present time, it is impossible to accomplish a really international unification of the workers without radically breaking with opportunism and without making clear to the masses the inevitability of its fiasco.

It must be the task of the Social-Democracy of every country first of all to struggle against the chauvinism of that country. In Russia this chauvinism has completely embraced the bourgeois liberals (the Cadets) and partly the Narodniks down to the Socialist-Revolutionists and the " Right " Social-Democrats. It is particularly necessary to brand the chauvinist declarations of such men as E. Smirnov, P. Maslov and G. Plekhanov, who have been taken up and widely utilised by the bourgeois " patriotic " press.

Under given conditions, it is impossible to determine from the standpoint of the international proletariat which is the lesser evil for Socialism: the defeat of one or the defeat of the other group of belligerent nations. For us Russian Social-Democrats, however, there cannot exist the least doubt that from the standpoint of the working class and of the labouring masses of all the peoples of Russia, the lesser evil would be the defeat of the tsarist monarchy, the most reactionary and barbarous government oppressing the greatest number of nations and the greatest mass of the populations of Europe and Asia.

The political slogan of the Social-Democrats of Europe for the near future must be the creation of a republican United States of Europe. In contrast to the bourgeoisie, which is ready to " promise " anything in order to draw the proletariat into the general stream of chauvinism, the Social-Democrats will explain that this slogan is false and senseless without a revolutionary overthrow of the German, Austrian and Russian monarchies.

In Russia, due to the greater backwardness of the country, which has not yet completed its bourgeois revolution, the tasks of the Social-Democrats are, as heretofore, the following three fundamental conditions

for a consistent democratic reconstruction : a democratic republic (with full and equal rights for all nationalities, including the right of self-determination), confiscation of the landowners' land, and an eight-hour work-day. In all the other advanced countries, however, the war has placed on the order of the day the slogan of a Socialist revolution, which becomes the more urgent the more heavily the burdens of war are pressing on the shoulders of the proletariat and as it becomes apparent that it will play a more active part in the restoration of Europe after the horrors of the present "patriotic" barbarism aided by the gigantic technical progress of big capitalism. The utilisation by the bourgeoisie of the laws of war time for gagging the proletariat, makes it absolutely necessary to create illegal forms of agitation and organisation. Let the opportunists "save" the legal organisations at the price of betraying their convictions; the revolutionary Social-Democrats will utilise the organisational habits and connections of the working class to organise illegal forms of organisation befitting an epoch of crisis, in order to fight for Socialism and to unite the workers, not with the chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries, but with the workers of all countries. The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish. The working masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International. The present triumph of opportunism is short-lived. The greater the war losses, the clearer it will become for the working masses that the opportunists betrayed the cause of the workers and that it is necessary to turn the weapons against the governments and the bourgeoisie of the respective countries.

Turning the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan. It is indicated by the experience of the Commune, it was outlined by the Basle resolution (1912) and it follows from all the conditions of an imperialist war among highly developed bourgeois countries. However difficult such transformation may appear at one time or another, Socialists will never relinquish systematic, insistent, unflinching preparatory work in this direction once the war has become a fact.

Only along this road will the proletariat be able to break away from under the influence of the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and sooner or later, in one form or another, will it take decisive steps on the road to real freedom of peoples, and on the road to Socialism.

Long live the international brotherhood of the workers united against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries!

Long live a proletarian International, free from opportunism!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

SOCIALISM AND WAR

Attitude of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party Towards the War

LITTLE LENIN LIBRARY

SOCIALISM AND WAR

BY

G. ZINOVIEV

and

V. I. LENIN

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD TO FIRST FOREIGN EDITION

THE war has been going on for a year. Our party made clear its attitude towards the war at its very beginning in the Manifesto of the Central Committee written in September, 1914, and after conveying it to the Central Committee members and the responsible representatives of our party in Russia, and obtaining their approval published it, November 1, 1914, in No. 33 of the Central Organ of our party, the *Sotsial-Demokrat*.* Later, in No. 40 (March 29, 1915), there were published the resolutions of the Berne Conference which express more precisely our principles and our tactics.**

There is at present evident in Russia a growing revolutionary sentiment among the masses. In other countries there are also signs of a similar phenomenon, notwithstanding the smothering of the revolutionary tendencies of the proletariat by a majority of the official Social-Democratic parties, which have taken the side of their governments and their bourgeoisie. This state of affairs makes it particularly urgent to publish a pamphlet which summarises Social-Democratic tactics in relation to the war. In reprinting in full the above-mentioned party documents, we have supplied them with brief explanations, attempting to take stock of the main arguments expressed in literature and in party gatherings for bourgeois and proletarian tactics.

G. ZINOVIEV.

GENEVA, *August*, 1915. N. LENIN.

* See V. I. Lenin, *The War and the Second International*, Little Lenin Library No. 2.—*Ed.*

** See V. I. Lenin, *The Imperialist War*, Collected Works, Vol. XVIII.—*Ed.*

FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION

The present pamphlet was written in the summer of 1915 on the very eve of the Zimmerwald Conference. It also appeared in German and French, and was reprinted in full in the Norwegian language in the organ of the Norwegian Social-Democratic Youth. The German edition of the pamphlet was illegally transported into Germany, to Berlin, Leipzig, Bremen, and other cities, where it was distributed by the adherents of the Zimmerwald Left and Karl Liebknecht's group. The French edition was illegally printed in Paris and distributed there by the French Zimmerwaldists. The Russian edition reached Russia in a very limited number of copies, and was hand-copied by Moscow workers.

We now reprint the pamphlet in full, as a document. The reader must remember that the pamphlet was written in August, 1915. It is particularly necessary to remember this in connection with the passages dealing with Russia. Russia then was still tsarist, Romanov Russia.*

* This Foreword was written for the first legal edition of the pamphlet published in Russia in 1918 by the Petrograd Soviet.—*Ed.*

SOCIALISM AND WAR

CHAPTER I

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM AND THE WAR OF 1914-1915

ATTITUDE OF SOCIALISTS TOWARDS WAR

THE Socialists have always condemned wars between peoples as barbarous and bestial. Our attitude towards war, however, differs in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists and Anarchists. We differ from the first in that we understand the inseparable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggles inside of a country on the other, we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating Socialism, and in that we fully recognise the justice, the progressivism and the necessity of civil wars, *i.e.*, wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave-holders, of serfs against the landowners, of wage-workers against the bourgeosie. We Marxists differ both from pacifists and Anarchists in that we recognise the necessity of an historical study of each war individually, from the point of view of Marx's dialectical materialism. There have been many wars in history which, notwithstanding all the horrors, cruelties, miseries and tortures, inevitably connected with every war, had a progressive character, *i.e.*, they served the development of mankind, aiding in the destruction of extremely pernicious and reactionary institutions (as, for instance, absolutism or serfdom), or helping to remove the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (that of Turkey and Russia). It is, therefore, necessary to examine the historic characteristics of the present war taken by itself.

TYPES OF WAR IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES

A new epoch in the history of mankind was opened by the great French Revolution. From that time down to the Paris Commune,

i.e., from 1789 to 1871, some of the wars had a bourgeois progressive character, being waged for national liberation. In other words, the main contents and the historic significance of those wars consisted in overthrowing absolutism and feudalism, at least in undermining those institutions, or in casting off the yoke of foreign nations. Therefore these wars can be considered progressive. When such wars were waged, all honest revolutionary democrats as well as Socialists always sympathised with that side (*i.e.*, with that bourgeoisie) which helped to overthrow or at least to undermine the most dangerous foundations of feudalism and absolutism, or to combat the oppression of foreign peoples. For instance, the fundamental historic significance of the revolutionary wars of France, notwithstanding the tendency to plunder and conquer foreign lands on the part of the French, consists in the fact that they shook and destroyed feudalism and absolutism in the whole of old Europe hitherto based on serf labour. In the Franco-Prussian War, Germany certainly robbed France ; this, however, does not change the fundamental historic significance of that war as having freed tens of millions of the German people from feudal decentralisation and from the oppression of two despots, the Tsar and Napoleon III.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE WAR

The period between 1789 and 1871 left deep traces and revolutionary reminiscences. Before the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism, and foreign oppression, there could be no thought of developing the proletarian struggle for Socialism. When, in speaking of the wars of *such* periods, the Socialists always recognised the justice of a " defensive " war, they had in view the above aims, namely, a revolution against medievalism and serf labour. Under a " defensive " war the Socialists always understood a " just " war in this particular sense. (Wilhelm Liebknecht once expressed himself in this very way.) Only in this sense did the Socialists recognise, and do recognise at present, the legitimacy, progressivism, and justice of " defending the fatherland " or of a " defensive " war. For instance, if Morocco were to declare war against France to-morrow, or India against England, or Persia or China against Russia, etc., those wars would be " just," " defensive " wars, no matter which one was the first to attack. Every Socialist would then wish the

victory of the oppressed, dependent, non-sovereign states against the oppressing, slave-holding, pillaging "great" nations.

But imagine that a slave-holder possessing 100 slaves wages war against a slave-holder possessing 200 slaves for a more "equitable" re-distribution of slaves. It is evident that to apply to such a case the term "defensive" war or "defence of the fatherland," would be an historical lie; in practice it would mean that the crafty slave-holders were plainly deceiving the unenlightened masses, the lower strata of the city population. It is in this very fashion that the present-day imperialist bourgeoisie, when war is waged among the slave-holders for the strengthening and consolidation of slavery, deceive the peoples by means of the "national" ideology and the idea of defence of the fatherland.

THE PRESENT WAR IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR

Nearly everyone admits the present war to be an imperialist war. In most cases, however, this term is either distorted, or applied to one side only, or a loophole is left for the assertion that the war is a bourgeois-progressive means for national liberation. Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, one that has been reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism began to feel cramped within the old national states, without the formation of which it could not overthrow feudalism. Capitalism has brought about such economic concentration that entire branches of industry are in the hands of syndicates, trusts, or corporations of billionaires; almost the entire globe has been parcelled out among the "giants of capital," either in the form of colonies, or through the entangling of foreign countries by thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by tendencies towards monopoly, towards seizure of lands for the investment of capital, for the export of raw materials, etc. Capitalism, formerly a liberator of nations, has now, in its imperialist stage, become the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, it has become a reactionary force. It has developed the productive forces to such an extent that humanity must either pass over to Socialism, or for years, nay, decades, witness armed conflicts of the "great" nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression.

DIVISION OF THE WORLD AMONG THE "GREAT" SLAVE-HOLDING NATIONS

"Great Powers"	Colonies				Mother Countries		Total	
	1876		1914		1914			
	Sq.Km.	Pop.	Sq.Km.	Pop.	Sq.Km.	Pop.	Sq.Km.	Pop.
			(in millions)					
England	22.5	251.9	33.5	393.5	0.3	46.5	33.8	440.0
Russia	17.0	15.9	17.4	33.2	5.4	136.2	22.8	169.4
France	0.9	6.0	10.6	55.5	0.5	39.9	11.1	95.1
Germany	—	—	2.9	12.3	0.5	64.9	3.4	77.2
Japan	—	—	0.3	19.2	0.4	53.0	0.7	72.2
U. S. A.	—	—	0.3	9.7	9.4	97.0	9.7	106.7
TOTALS:								
Six "Great" Powers	40.4	273.8	65.0	523.4	19.5	437.2	81.5	960.6
Colonies belonging to Non-Great Powers (Belgium, Holland, etc.)							9.9	45.3
Three "Semi-Colonial" Countries (Turkey, China and Persia)							14.5	361.2
Grand Total							105.9	1,367.1
All other States and Countries							28.0	289.9
The whole globe (except the Polar Regions)							133.9	1,657.0

WAR AMONG THE GREATEST SLAVE-HOLDERS FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF SLAVERY

To make the meaning of imperialism clear, we will quote exact figures showing the division of the world among the so-called "great" nations (*i.e.*, nations successful in the great robbery). [See p. 12.—*Ed.*]

It is evident that the peoples who, between 1789 and 1871, were usually the foremost fighters for freedom, have become, after 1876, under highly-developed and "over-ripe" capitalism, the oppressors and subjugators of the majority of the populations and nations of the entire globe. Between 1876 and 1914, the six "great" nations grabbed 25,000,000 square kilometres, *i.e.*, a territory two and a half times the size of Europe. The six nations hold enslaved *more than a half-billion* (523,000,000) of colonial peoples. For every four inhabitants of the "great" nations, there are five inhabitants in "their" colonies. Everybody knows that the colonies were conquered by fire and sword, that the colonial populations are treated in a barbarous fashion, that they are exploited in a thousand ways, such as exportation of capital, concessions, etc., deceptions in selling commodities, submission to the authorities of the "ruling" nation, and so on, and so forth. The Anglo-French bourgeoisie is deceiving the people when it says that it wages war for the freedom of peoples, including Belgium; in reality, it wages war for the sake of holding on to the colonies which it has stolen on a large scale. The German imperialists would free Belgium, etc., forthwith, were the English and the French willing to share with them the colonies on the basis of "justice." It is a peculiarity of the present situation that the fate of the colonies is being decided by war on the continent. From the standpoint of bourgeois justice and national freedom, which means the right of nations to exist, Germany could unquestionably have a just claim against England and France, because it has been "wronged" as far as its share of colonies is concerned, because its enemies are oppressing more nations than Germany, and because under its ally, Austria, the oppressed Slavs are enjoying decidedly more freedom than in tsarist Russia, this veritable "prison of the peoples." Germany itself, however, is waging war, not for the liberation, but for the oppression of nations. It is not the business of Socialists to help the younger and stronger robber (Germany) to rob the older

and fatter bandits, but the Socialists must utilise the struggle between the bandits to overthrow all of them. For this reason the Socialists must first of all tell the people the truth, namely, that this war is in three senses a war of slave-holders for the strengthening of the worst kind of slavery. It is a war, first, for the strengthening of colonial slavery by means of a more "equitable" division of the colonies and more "team work" in their exploitation; it is, secondly, a war for the strengthening of the oppression of minority nationalities inside the "great" nations, since Austria and Russia (Russia much more and in a much worse manner than Austria) are based on such oppression which is strengthened by the war; third, it is a war for the strengthening and prolongation of wage slavery, the proletariat being divided and subdued while the capitalists are gaining through war profits, through fanning national prejudices, and deepening the reaction which has raised its head in all countries, even in the freest and republican countries.

"WAR IS POLITICS CONTINUED BY OTHER (I.E., FORCIBLE) MEANS."

This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this very standpoint that Marx and Engles regarded wars.

Apply this idea to the present war. You will find that for decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia, conducted a policy of colonial robbery, of suppressing labour movements, of oppressing foreign nations. Such a policy, and no other one, is being pursued also in the present war. Notably in Austria and in Russia the policy of both peace and war times consists in the enslavement of nations, not in their liberation. On the contrary, in China, Persia, India and other dependent nations we note in the last decade a policy of national awakening, tens and hundreds of millions of people striving to liberate themselves from under the yoke of reactionary "great" nations. War growing out of this historic basis, even at the present time, can be of a bourgeois progressive nature, a war for national liberation.

One glance at the present war, conceived as a continuation of the

policy of the "great" nations and their fundamental classes, shows that the opinion which justifies "defence of the fatherland" in the present war is false, hypocritical and in glaring contradiction to historic facts.

EXAMPLE OF BELGIUM

The social-chauvinists of the Triple (now Quadruple) Entente (in Russia, Plekhanov and Co.) love to refer to the example of Belgium. This example speaks against them. The German imperialists shamelessly violated Belgian neutrality; this has always and everywhere been the practice of warring nations which, in the case of necessity, trample upon *all* treaties and obligations. Suppose all nations interested in maintaining international treaties declared war against Germany, demanding the liberation and indemnification of Belgium. In this case the sympathy of the Socialists would naturally be on the side of Germany's enemies. The truth, however, is that the war is being waged by the "Triple" (and Quadruple) Entente *not* for the sake of Belgium. This is well known, and only the hypocrites conceal it. England is robbing German colonies and Turkey; Russia is robbing Galicia and Turkey; France is striving to obtain Alsace-Lorraine and even the left bank of the Rhine; a treaty providing the sharing of spoils (in Albania and Asia Minor) has been concluded with Italy; with Bulgaria and Rumania there is haggling as to the division of the spoils. In the present war, conducted by the present governments, it is impossible to help Belgium without helping to throttle Austria or Turkey, etc. What meaning, then, has the "defence of the fatherland"? This is the peculiar characteristic of the imperialist war, a war between reactionary bourgeois governments that have historically outlived themselves, conducted for the sake of oppressing other nations. Whoever justifies participation in this war, perpetuates imperialist oppression of nations. Whoever seeks to use the present difficulties of the governments in order to fight for a social revolution, is fighting for the real freedom of really all nations, a freedom that can be realised only under Socialism.

WHAT IS RUSSIA FIGHTING FOR?

In Russia, modern capitalist imperialism has clearly manifested itself in the policy of tsarism relative to Persia, Manchuria and Mongolia;

in general, however, the prevailing type of Russian imperialism is military and feudal. Nowhere in the world is there such an oppression of the majority of the country's population as there is in Russia: the Great-Russians form only 43 per cent. of the population, *i.e.*, less than half; the rest have no rights as belonging to other nationalities. Out of 170,000,000 of the population of Russia *about 100,000,000* are oppressed and without rights. The tsarist government wages war for the seizure of Galicia and the final throttling of the freedom of the Ukrainians, for the seizure of Armenia, Constantinople, etc. Tsarism sees in this war a means to distract the attention from the growing discontent within the country and to suppress the growing revolutionary movement. For every two Great-Russians in present-day Russia, there are between two and three "aliens" without rights. In waging this war tsarism strives to increase the number of nations oppressed by Russia, to perpetuate their oppression and subsequently to undermine the struggle for freedom of the Great-Russians themselves. The opportunity of suppressing and robbing foreign peoples spells economic stagnation, since it often substitutes semi-feudal exploitation of the "aliens" as a source of income for the development of productive forces. It is for this reason that, as far as Russia is concerned, the war is doubly reactionary and hostile to national liberation.

WHAT IS SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM?

Social-chauvinism is adherence to the idea of "defending the fatherland" in the present war. From this idea follows repudiation of the class struggle in war time, voting for military appropriations, etc. In practice the social-chauvinists conduct an anti-proletarian bourgeois policy, because in practice they insist not on the "defence of the fatherland" in the sense of fighting against the oppression of a foreign nation, but upon the "right" of one or the other of the "great" nations to rob the colonies and oppress other peoples. The social-chauvinists follow the bourgeoisie in deceiving the people by saying that the war is conducted for the defence of the freedom and the existence of the nations; thus they put themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. To the social-chauvinists belong those who justify and idealise the governments and the bourgeoisie of *one* of the belligerent

groups of nations, as well as those who, like Kautsky, recognise the equal right of the Socialists of *all* belligerent nations to "defend the fatherland." Social-chauvinism, being in practice a defence of the privileges, prerogatives, robberies and violence of "one's own" (or any other) imperialist bourgeoisie, is a total betrayal of all Socialist convictions and a violation of the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Basle.

THE BASLE MANIFESTO

The war manifesto unanimously adopted in 1912 in Basle has in view the kind of war between England and Germany with their present allies which actually broke out in 1914. The manifesto declares unequivocally that no people's interests of whatever nature can justify such a war, it being conducted "for the profits of capitalists" and "the ambitions of dynasties" as an outgrowth of the imperialist predatory policy of the great nations. The manifesto plainly states that the war is dangerous "for the governments" (all governments without exception); it notes their fear "of a proletarian revolution;" it refers with full clarity to the example of the Commune of 1871 and of October-December, 1905, *i.e., to the example of revolution and civil war.* The Basle Manifesto thus establishes for this present war the tactics of workers' revolutionary struggle on an international scale against their governments, the tactics of proletarian revolution. The Basle Manifesto repeats the words of the Stuttgart resolution to the effect that in case of war the Socialists must take advantage of the "economic and political crisis" created by it to "hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule," *i.e.*, to take advantage of the difficulties of the governments and of mass indignation created by the war to advance the Socialist revolution.

The policy of the social-chauvinists, their justification of the war from the bourgeois standpoint of national liberty, their acceptance of the "defence of the fatherland," their voting for war appropriations, their participation in the cabinets, etc., etc., is a direct betrayal of Socialism. As we shall see below, it can be explained only by the triumph of opportunism and of national-liberal labour policy inside of the majority of the European parties.

The Russian social-chauvinists (headed by Plekhanov) refer to Marx's tactics in the war of 1870. The German chauvinists (of the type of Lensch, David and Co.) refer to Engels, who in 1891 declared that it would be the duty of the German Socialists to defend their fatherland in case of a war against Russia and France combined. Finally, the social-chauvinists of the Kautsky type, wishing to justify and sanction international chauvinism, quote both Marx and Engels who, while denouncing wars, always sided with one or the other of the belligerent governments, once the war had actually broken out, as was the case in 1854-1855, 1870-1871 and 1876-1877.

All these references are an abominable distortion of Marx's and Engels' views, made in favour of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, just as the writings of the Anarchists, Guillaume and Co., distort the views of Marx and Engels for the justification of Anarchism. The war of 1870-1871 was historically progressive on Germany's side up to the defeat of Napoleon III, because both he and the Tsar had long oppressed Germany, keeping it in a state of feudal decentralisation. As soon as the war turned into a plunder of France (annexation of Alsace and Lorraine), Marx and Engels decisively condemned the Germans. Even at the beginning of the war of 1870-1871 Marx and Engels approved of Bebel's and Liebknecht's refusal to vote for military appropriations; they advised the Social-Democrats not to merge with the bourgeoisie, but to defend the independent class-interests of the proletariat. To apply the characterisation of the Franco-Prussian War, which was of a bourgeois progressive nature and fought for national liberty, to the present imperialist war, is to mock at history. The same is even more true about the war of 1854-1855 and all other wars of the nineteenth century, *i.e.*, a time *when there was no modern imperialism, no ripe objective conditions for Socialism, no mass Socialist parties in all the belligerent countries*, *i.e.*, when there were none of those conditions from which the Basle Manifesto deduced the tactics of a "proletarian revolution" in the case of a war's arising among the great nations.

Whoever refers at present to Marx's attitude towards the wars of a period when the bourgeoisie was *progressive*, forgetting Marx's words that "the workers have no fatherland," words which refer to a *period*

when the bourgeoisie is reactionary and has outlived itself, to the period of Socialist revolutions, is shamelessly distorting Marx and substituting a bourgeois for a Socialist standpoint.

COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The Socialists of the whole world solemnly declared in 1912, in Basle, that they considered the coming European war a "criminal" and reactionary undertaking of *all* the governments, an undertaking which must hasten the breakdown of capitalism by inevitably generating a revolution against it. The war came, the crisis was there. Instead of revolutionary tactics, the majority of the Social-Democratic parties followed reactionary tactics, siding with their governments and their respective bourgeoisies. This betrayal of Socialism means the collapse of the Second (1889-1914) International. We must make clear to ourselves the causes of that collapse, the reasons for the birth and growth of social-chauvinism.

SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IS OPPORTUNISM BROUGHT TO COMPLETION

During the entire period of the Second International, a struggle was going on everywhere inside of the Social-Democratic parties between the revolutionary and the opportunist wings. In a series of countries there was a split along this line (England, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria). There was no doubt in the mind of any Marxist that opportunism expressed a bourgeois policy inside of the labour movement, that it expressed the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of the alliance of an insignificant section of bourgeois-like workers with "their own" bourgeoisie against the interests of the mass of proletarians, the mass of the oppressed.

The objective conditions at the end of the nineteenth century were such that they strengthened opportunism, turning the use of legal bourgeois opportunities into servile worship of legalism, creating a thin layer of bureaucracy and aristocracy in the working class, attracting to the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties many petty-bourgeois "fellow travellers."

The war hastened this development; it turned opportunism into social-chauvinism; it changed the alliance of the opportunists with

the bourgeoisie from a secret to an open one. At the same time, the military authorities everywhere introduced martial law and muzzled the working mass, whose old leaders, almost in a body, went over to the bourgeoisie.

The economic basis of opportunism and social-chauvinism is the same: the interests of an insignificant layer of privileged workers and petty bourgeoisie who are defending their privileged positions, their "right" to the crumbs of profits which "their" national bourgeoisie receives from robbing other nations, from the advantages of its position as a great nation.

The ideological and political content of opportunism and social-chauvinism is the same: class collaboration instead of class struggle; renunciation of revolutionary means of struggle; aiding "one's" own government in its difficulties instead of taking advantage of its difficulties to work for a revolution. If we take all European countries as a whole, if we look not at individual persons (however authoritative), it appears that the opportunist ideology has become the mainstay of social-chauvinism, whereas from the camp of the revolutionists we hear almost everywhere more or less consistent protests against it. If we take, for instance, the division of opinion manifested at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress of 1907, we find that international Marxism was against imperialism while international opportunism was even then already for it.

UNITY WITH THE OPPORTUNISTS IS AN ALLIANCE OF THE WORKERS WITH "THEIR" NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE AND A SPLIT IN THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS

During the period that preceded the war, opportunism was often considered a legitimate component part of a Social-Democratic party, though "deviating" and "extreme." The war has proven the inadmissibility of this combination in the future. Opportunism has ripened, it has brought to completion its role of an emissary of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement. Unity with the opportunists has become nothing but hypocrisy, as evidenced by the example of the German Social-Democratic Party. On all important occasions (as at the voting of August 4) the opportunists confront the party with their ultimatum, the

acceptance of which is secured through their numerous connections with the bourgeoisie, through their majorities on the executive committees of the labour unions, etc. To keep *united* with opportunism at the present time means *practically* to subjugate the working class to "its" bourgeoisie, to make an alliance with it for the oppression of other nations and for the struggle for the privileges of a great nation; at the same time it means splitting the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

However difficult it may be in individual cases to fight the opportunists who occupy a leading position in many organisations; whatever peculiar forms the process of purging the labour parties of the opportunists may assume in various countries, this process is inevitable and fruitful. Reformist Socialism is dying; regenerating Socialism "will be revolutionary, non-compromising, rebellious," according to the just expression of the French Socialist, Paul Golay.

KAUTSKYISM

Kautsky, the greatest authority of the Second International, represents the most typical and striking example of how lip service to Marxism has in reality led to its transformation into "Struveism" or "Brentanoism." Plekhanov represents a similar example. Those people castrate Marxism; they purge it, by means of obvious sophisms, of its revolutionary living soul; they recognise in Marxism *everything except* revolutionary means of struggle, except the advocacy of, and the preparation for, such struggle, and the education of the masses in this direction. Kautsky quite meaninglessly "reconciles" the fundamental idea of social-chauvinism, the defence of the fatherland in this war, with a diplomatic sham concession to the Left, such as abstaining from voting appropriations, verbal expression of opposition, etc. Kautsky, who in 1909 wrote a book* predicting the approach of a revolutionary period and discussing the relation between war and revolution, Kautsky, who in 1912 signed the Basle Manifesto on revolutionary utilisation of the coming war, now justifies and embellishes social-chauvinism in every way. Like Plekhanov, he joins the bourgeoisie in ridiculing the very idea of revolution, in repudiating every step towards immediate revolutionary struggle.

* *Der Weg zur Macht* (English translation—*The Road to Power*).—*Ed.*

The working class cannot realise its revolutionary role, which is of world significance, otherwise than by waging a merciless war against this desertion of principles, this supineness, this servility to opportunism and this unexampled theoretical vulgarisation of Marxism. Kautskyism is not an accident but a social product of the contradictions within the Second International which combined faithfulness to Marxism in words with submission to opportunism in deeds.

In every country this fundamental falsehood of Kautskyism assumes different forms. In Holland, Roland-Holst, though rejecting the idea of defence of the fatherland, is supporting unity with the party of the opportunists. In Russia, Trotsky, apparently repudiating this idea, also fights for unity with the opportunist and chauvinist group *Nasha Zarya*. In Rumania, Rakovsky, declaring war against opportunism which he blames for the collapse of the International, is at the same time ready to recognise the legitimacy of the idea of the defence of the fatherland. These are manifestations of the evil which the Dutch Marxists, Gorter and Pannekoek have named "passive radicalism" and which reduces itself to substituting eclecticism for revolutionary Marxism in theory and to slavishness or impotence in the face of opportunism in practice.

THE SLOGAN OF MARXISTS IS THE SLOGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The war has undoubtedly created the acutest crisis and has incredibly intensified the sufferings of the masses. The reactionary character of this war, the shameless lie of the bourgeoisie of *all* countries which covers its predatory aims with "national" ideology, all this inevitably creates on the basis of an objective revolutionary situation, revolutionary sentiments in the masses. Our duty is to help make these sentiments conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." *All* consistent class struggle in time of war, all "mass actions" earnestly conducted must inevitably lead to this. We cannot know whether in the first or in the second imperialist war between the great nations, whether during or after it, a strong revolutionary movement will flare up. Whatever the case may be, it is our absolute duty systematically and unflinchingly to work in that particular direction.

The Basle Manifesto directly refers to the example of the Paris Commune, *i.e.*, to turning a war between governments into civil war. Half a century ago, the proletariat was too weak; objective conditions for Socialism had not ripened yet; a co-ordination and co-operation of the revolutionary movements in all the belligerent countries could not take place; the fact that a section of the Paris workers was captivated by "national ideology" (traditions of 1792) was its petty-bourgeois weakness noted at the time by Marx, and one of the reasons for the collapse of the Commune. Now, half a century later, all the conditions that weakened the revolution are no more. At the present time it is unforgivable for a Socialist to countenance repudiation of activities in the spirit of the Paris Communards.

EXAMPLE OF FRATERNISATION IN THE TRENCHES

The bourgeois papers of all the belligerent countries have quoted examples of fraternisation between the soldiers of the belligerent nations, even in the trenches. The fact that the military authorities of Germany and England have issued severe orders against such fraternisation proves that the government and the bourgeoisie consider it of serious importance. If at a time when opportunism among the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe is supreme and social-chauvinism is supported by the entire Social-Democratic press as well as by all influential figures of the Second International, such cases of fraternisation are possible, how much nearer could we bring the end of this criminal, reactionary and slave-driving war and the organisation of a revolutionary international movement if systematic work were conducted in this direction, at least by the Left Socialists of all the belligerent countries!

IMPORTANCE OF ILLEGAL ORGANISATIONS

Like the opportunists, the most eminent Anarchists of the world have covered themselves in this war with the shame of social-chauvinism in the spirit of Plekhanov and Kautsky. One of its useful results, however, will undoubtedly be the death of both opportunism and Anarchism in this war. The Social-Democratic parties, in no case and

under no conditions refusing to take advantage of the slightest legal possibility for the organisation of the masses and the preaching of Socialism, must do away with a servile attitude towards legalism. "Be the first to shoot, Messrs. Bourgeois!" Engles wrote in reference to civil war, pointing out the necessity for us to violate legality *after* it has been violated by the bourgeoisie. The crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie is violating legality in every country, including the freest, and that it is impossible to lead the masses towards revolution without creating an illegal organisation for preaching, discussing, analysing, preparing revolutionary means of struggle. In Germany, for instance, all *honest* activities of the Socialists are being conducted against abject opportunism and hypocritical "Kautskyism," and conducted illegally. In England, men are being sentenced to hard labour for appeals to abstain from joining the army.

To think that membership in a Social-Democratic party is compatible with repudiation of illegal methods of propaganda and the ridicule of them in the legal press is to betray Socialism.

DEFEAT OF "ONE'S OWN" GOVERNMENT IN IMPERIALIST WAR

The advocates of victory of "one's own" government in the present war, as well as the advocates of the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat," proceed equally from the standpoint of social-chauvinism. A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot help wishing the defeat of its government, it cannot fail to see the connection between the government's military reverses and the increased opportunity for overthrowing it. Only a bourgeois who believes that the war started by the governments will necessarily end as a war between governments, and who wishes it to be so, finds "ridiculous" or "absurd" the idea that the Socialists of *all* the belligerent countries should express their wish that *all* "their" governments be defeated. On the contrary, such expression would coincide with the hidden thoughts of every class-conscious worker, and would lie along the line of our activity which tends to turn the imperialist war into civil war.

An earnest anti-war propaganda by a section of the English, German and Russian Socialists would undoubtedly "weaken the military strength" of the respective governments, but such propaganda would

be to the credit of the Socialists. The Socialists must explain to the masses that there is no salvation for them outside of a revolutionary overthrow of "their" governments and that the difficulties of those governments in the present war must be taken advantage of for just this purpose.

PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SLOGAN

A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis, but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations, without the oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The most widespread deception of the people by the bourgeoisie in the present war consists in hiding its predatory aims under an ideology of "national liberation." The English promise freedom to Belgium, the Germans to Poland, etc. As we have seen, this is in reality a war of the oppressors of the majority of the nations of the world for the deepening and widening of such oppression.

The Socialists cannot reach their great aim without fighting against every form of national oppression. They must therefore unequivocally demand that the Social-Democrats of the *oppressing* countries (of the so-called "great" nations in particular) should recognise and defend the right of the *oppressed* nations to self-determination in the political sense of the word, *i.e.*, the right to political separation. A Socialist of a great nation or a nation possessing colonies who does not defend this right is a chauvinist.

To defend this right does in no way mean to encourage the formation of small states, but on the contrary it leads to a freer, more fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of larger governments and unions of governments—a phenomenon more advantageous for the masses and more in accord with economic development

On the other hand, the Socialists of the *oppressed* nations must unequivocally fight for complete unity of the *workers* of both the oppressed and the oppressor nationalities (which also means organisational unity). The idea of a lawful separation between one nationality and the other (the so-called "national cultural autonomy" of Bauer and Renner) is a reactionary idea.

Imperialism is the period of an increasing oppression of the nations of the whole world by a handful of "great" nations; the struggle for a Socialist international revolution against imperialism is, therefore, impossible without the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination. "No people oppressing other peoples can be free" (Marx and Engels).* No proletariat reconciling itself to the least violation by "its" nation of the rights of other nations can be Socialist.

* Engels in *Volksstaat*, 1874, No. 69.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER II

CLASSES AND PARTIES IN RUSSIA

THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE WAR

In one respect the Russian government did not fall behind its European confrères: like them, it succeeded in deceiving "its" people on a grandiose scale. A gigantic, monstrous apparatus of lies and cunning fabrications was put to work in Russia to infect the masses with chauvinism, to create the idea that the tsarist government is waging a "just" war, that it unselfishly "defends its Slav brothers," etc.

The class of landowners and the upper strata of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie have ardently supported the military policy of the Tsar's government. They justly expect tremendous material advantages and privileges for themselves from the division of the Turkish and Austrian inheritance. Many congresses of these classes have already taken stock of the profits which would flow into their pockets after a victory of the tsarist army. Besides, the reactionaries understand very well that if anything can still postpone the fall of the Romanov monarchy and forestall a new revolution in Russia, it is a war won by the Tsar.

Large strata of the "middle" city bourgeoisie, of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the members of liberal professions, etc., have also been infected by chauvinism, at least at the beginning of the war. The party of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie, the Constitutional-Democrats, has given full and unconditional support to the tsarist government. In the field of foreign politics, the Cadets have long been a government party. Panslavism, by means of which the Tsar's diplomacy more than once accomplished its grandiose political pettifoggings, has become the official ideology of the Cadets. Russian liberalism has degenerated into *national* liberalism. It vies with the Black Hundred in "patriotism"; it is always willing to vote for militarism, navalism, etc. In the camp

of Russian liberalism, the same phenomenon can be observed which took place in the seventies in Germany when "liberty-loving" liberalism degenerated and gave birth to the National-Liberal Party. The Russian liberal bourgeoisie has definitely placed itself on the road of counter-revolution. The point of view of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in this respect has thus been fully confirmed. Life has shattered the view of our opportunists that Russian liberalism is still a moving force of the revolution in Russia.

The ruling clique has also succeeded, by means of the bourgeois press, the clergy, etc., in creating a chauvinist sentiment among the peasantry. With the return of the soldiers from the battlefields, however, the mood of the village will undoubtedly undergo a change not in favour of the Tsar's monarchy. Bourgeois democratic parties in contact with the peasantry have not stood their ground against the chauvinist wave. The party of the Trudoviks in the Imperial Duma refused to vote military appropriations, but through the mouth of its leader Kerensky it made public a "patriotic" declaration which was of great service to the monarchy. All the legal press of the Narodniks [Populists —*Ed.*] has generally followed the liberals. Even the Left Wing of bourgeois democracy, the so-called Party of the Socialists-Revolutionists affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau, has swum with the current. The representative of this party in the International Socialist Bureau, Mr. H. Rubanovich, has openly appeared as a social-chauvinist. Half of the delegates of this party to the London conference of the Entente Socialists voted for a chauvinist resolution, the other half abstaining from voting. In the illegal press of the Socialists-Revolutionists (the paper *Novosti* [*News*], etc.), the chauvinists predominate. The revolutionists from among the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, bourgeois revolutionists not connected with the working class, have suffered a cruel downfall in this war. The lamentable fate of Kropotkin, Burtsev, Rubanovich, is extremely significant.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WAR

The only class in Russia which the government and the bourgeoisie have not succeeded in inoculating with the plague of chauvinism, is the proletariat. Sporadic excesses at the beginning of the war attracted

only the most backward strata of the workers. The participation of the workers in the unsightly Moscow riots against the Germans has been greatly exaggerated. By and large, the working class of Russia has proved itself immune against chauvinism.

The explanation lies, first, in the revolutionary situation that prevails in the country; second, in the general conditions of the Russian proletariat.

The years 1912-1914 marked the beginning of a new, grandiose revolutionary upheaval in Russia. We again witnessed a great strike movement, the like of which the world does not know. A mass revolutionary strike in 1913 embraced, according to the most conservative estimate, a million and a half participants; in 1914 it exceeded two millions and was approaching the level of 1905. On the very eve of the war things reached a climax in St. Petersburg: the first barricade battles had begun.

The illegal Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has fulfilled its duty before the International. The banner of internationalism has not wavered in its hands. Our party has long severed organisational relations with the opportunist groups and elements. The ball and chain of opportunism and "legalism at any price" has not impeded the feet of our party. The circumstance has helped it to fulfil its revolutionary duty just as the split with the opportunist party of Biasolati has helped the Italian comrades.

The general situation in our country is unfavourable for the thriving of "Socialist" opportunism among the working masses. In Russia we see a series of shades of opportunism and reformism among the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, etc., but among the politically active strata of the workers the opportunists are an insignificant minority. The layer of privileged workers and office staffs is very thin in Russia; the fetishism of legality could not be created there. The Liquidators (party of opportunists led by Axelrod, Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov, and others) had no serious support in the working masses prior to the war. The elections to the Fourth Imperial Duma resulted in *all* the six workers' Deputies being elected from among the opponents of Liquidationism. The circulation of, and the collections for, the legal workers' press in Petrograd and Moscow have proven beyond dispute that four-fifths of the class-conscious workers are marching against opportunism and Liquidationism.

Since the beginning of the war, the tsarist government has arrested and exiled thousands upon thousands of advanced workers, members of our illegal Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. This circumstance, together with the introduction of martial law in the country, with the closing down of our papers, etc., has halted the movement. But the illegal revolutionary work of our party still continues. In Petrograd our party committee issues an illegal paper *Proletarsky Golos* [*Proletarian Voice*].

Articles from the Central Organ, the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, which appears abroad, are being reprinted in Petrograd, and sent to the provincial towns. Illegal proclamations are published, and they are also distributed in the barracks. Illegal gatherings of workers are taking place outside of the city in various secret places. Recently, large strikes of metal workers started in Petrograd. In connection with these strikes our Petrograd committee has issued several appeals to the workers.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR FRACTION IN THE IMPERIAL DUMA AND THE WAR

In 1913, the Social-Democratic Deputies of the Imperial Duma split. On one side there appeared seven adherents of opportunism under the leadership of Chkheidze. They had been elected in seven non-proletarian provinces, where there were only 214,000 workers. On the other side there were six Deputies, all from the workers' electorate, elected in the industrial centres of Russia, where the number of workers was 1,008,000.

The main point of controversy was the tactics of revolutionary Marxism vs. the tactics of opportunist reformism. In practice, the disagreement manifested itself largely in the realm of extra-parliamentary work among the masses. In Russia this work had to be done illegally if those who did it wished to remain in revolutionary ground. Chkheidze's fraction proved a loyal ally of the Liquidators who repudiated illegal work; it defended them in every discussion with the workers, in every gathering. Hence the split, after which six Deputies formed the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction. A year of work proved beyond dispute that behind this group stood an overwhelming majority of the Russian workers.

With the beginning of the war, the difference between the policies of the groups made itself manifest with extraordinary clarity. Chkheidze's group confined itself to the parliamentary field. It did not vote appropriations, since it would have roused a storm of indignation among the workers. (We have seen that, in Russia, even petty-bourgeois Trudoviks did not vote for the appropriations.) Neither did it protest against social-chauvinism.

The R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction, which expressed the political line of our party, chose a different course. It carried the protest against the war into the very midst of the working class; it carried the propaganda against imperialism into the broad mass of Russian proletarians.

It met with a very sympathetic response on the part of the workers which frightened the government and compelled it, in flagrant violation of its own laws, to arrest and sentence our comrade Deputies to life-long exile under police surveillance in Siberia. In its first official communiqué on the arrest of our comrades, the tsarist government wrote:

> A position distinct from all the others was in this respect taken by some members of Social-Democratic societies whose activities aimed at shaking the military power of Russia by way of propaganda against the war, by means of underground appeals and oral propaganda.

To Vandervelde's famous appeal in which he asked the "temporary" cessation of the struggle against tsarism—an appeal which, according to the testimony of the Tsar's ambassador in Belgium, Prince Kudashev, was composed not by Vandervelde alone but in collaboration with that Tsar's ambassador—*only* our party, through its Central Committee, gave a negative reply. The leading centre of the Liquidators agreed with Vandervelde and officially declared in the press that "in its activities it *does not oppose the war*."

The first accusation made by the tsarist government against our comrades, the Deputies, was that they had conducted propaganda among the workers in favour of a negative reply to Vandervelde.

At the trial, the Tsar's attorney, Mr. Nenarokomov, held up before our comrades the worthy example of the German and French Socialists. "The German Social-Democrats," he said, "voted for military appropriations and proved friends of the government. This is how the German Social-Democrats acted, but this is not how the Don Quixotes of the Russian Social-Democracy acted. . . . The Socialists of Belgium

and France at once forgot their party disputes and unhesitatingly took their places under the banners." Quite different was the behaviour of the members of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction which acted under the directions of the Central Committee of the party.

The trial unfolded an impressive picture of a widespread illegal anti-war propaganda conducted by our party among the masses of the proletariat. Naturally, the Tsar's court succeeded in "uncovering" only a very small part of the activities of our comrades in this respect. But even the part that was revealed indicated how much had been done in the brief space of several months.

Illegal appeals of our groups and committees against the war and for international tactics were made public at the trial. From the class-conscious workers of all Russia feelers were reaching out to the members of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction and the latter utilised all its forces to help the workers understand the war from the standpoint of Marxism.

Comrade Muranov, a Deputy of the workers of the province of Kharkov, said at the trial:

"Knowing that I had been sent by the people to the Imperial Duma not to wear out the Duma chair, I travelled over the provinces to get acquainted with the sentiments of the working class." He also admitted at the trial that he had taken upon himself the functions of an illegal agitator of our party, that in the Ural he organised a workers' committee in the Verkhneisetsk plant and in other places. The trial proved that after the beginning of the war the members of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction had travelled over almost all of Russia for the sake of propaganda; that Muranov, Petrovsky, Badayev and others had organised numerous workers' meetings where resolutions against the war were adopted, etc.

The tsarist government threatened the defendants with capital punishment. In view of this, at the trial itself, not all of them stood up as courageously as did Comrade Muranov. They wished to make it difficult for the Tsar's attorneys to convict them. This is now being utilised by the Russian social-chauvinists in an unworthy manner to becloud the substance of the question as to what kind of parliamentarism is needed for the working class. Parliamentarism is being recognised by Südekum and Heine, by Sembat and Vaillant, by Bissolati and Mussolini, by Chkheidze and Plekhanov.

Parliamentarism is also being recognised by our comrades of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction; it is being recognised by the Bulgarian and Italian comrades who have split from the chauvinists. There is parliamentarism and parliamentarism. Some utilise the parliamentary arena to curry favour with their government or, at best, to wash their hands of everything, as did Chkheidze's group. Others utilise parliamentarism to remain revolutionists to the very end, to fulfil their duty as Socialists and internationalists even under the most difficult circumstances. The parliamentarism of the former leads them to ministerial chairs; the parliamentary activity of the latter leads them to prison, exile, hard labour. The former serve the bourgeoisie; the latter, the proletariat. The former are social-imperialists. The latter are revolutionary Marxists.

CHAPTER III

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

How shall the International be reconstructed? But first a few words as to how the International *must not* be reconstructed.

METHOD OF THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS AND OF THE "CENTRE"

Oh, the social-chauvinists of all countries are great "internationalists"! Since the beginning of the war, they have been burdened with care for the International! On the one hand they assert that the talk about the *collapse* of the International is exaggerated. In reality, they say, nothing in particular has happened. Listen to Kautsky: The International, he says, is simply "an instrument of peace time," and it is not surprising that in war time this instrument proved somewhat deficient. On the other hand, the social-chauvinists of all countries have found one very simple and, what is more, an international, way to get out of the present dilemma. Their remedy is not complicated, indeed; one must only wait, they say, until the end of the war; up to that time the Socialists of every country should defend their "fatherland" and support "their" governments; after the end of the war they should grant each other "amnesty," recognising that *all* were right, that in peace time we live like brothers, while in war time, in strict accordance with such and such resolutions, we call on the German workers to annihilate their French brothers, and vice versa.

This is equally agreed upon by Kautsky and Plekhanov, Victor Adler and Heine. Victor Adler writes that "when we shall have lived through this difficult time, our first duty will be to refrain from calling each other to account for every trifle." Kautsky asserts that "no earnest Socialists of any country have expressed themselves in a manner to make us afraid" of the fate of the International. Plekhanov says, "It is unpleasant to shake the hands" (of the German Social-Democrats)

"which reek with the blood of those innocently murdered," but at the same time he, too, proposes "amnesty": "To subordinate the *heart to reason*," he writes, "would here be entirely in place. For the sake of the great cause of the International, even belated expressions of regret will have to be taken into account." Heine, in the *Sozialistische Monatshafte*, calls Vandervelde's behaviour "courageous and dignified" and holds it up as an example for the German Left.

In brief, when the war is over, appoint a commission of Kautsky, Plekhanov, Vandervelde, and Adler, and a "unanimous" resolution will momentarily be framed in the spirit of mutual amnesty. The controversy will have been peacefully glossed over. Instead of aiding the workers to understand what happened, they will deceive them by a show of paper "unity." A union of social-chauvinists and hypocrites of all countries will be termed the reconstruction of the International.

We must not hide from ourselves the fact that the danger of such "reconstruction" is very great. The social-chauvinists of all countries are equally interested in such an outcome. They are all equally unwilling to allow that the working masses of their respective countries should by themselves gain clarity as to the question: Socialism or nationalism? They are all equally interested in covering up each other's sins. None of them can propose anything outside of what is being proposed by Kautsky, that virtuoso of "international" hypocrisy.

However, this danger is little understood. One year of war has witnessed a series of attempts at re-establishing international connections. We will not speak of the London and Vienna Conferences where outspoken chauvinists gathered to help the general staffs and the bourgeoisie of "their" fatherlands. We have in mind the Lugano and Copenhagen Conferences, the International Women's Conference, and the International Youth Conference. These gatherings were animated by the best intentions, but they entirely failed to see the above danger. They did not map out a fighting line for the internationalists. They did not call the attention of the proletariat to the danger lurking for it in the social-chauvinists' method of "reconstructing" the International. At best, they confine themselves to a repetition of old resolutions without pointing out to the workers that, without a struggle against the social-chauvinists, the cause of Socialism is hopeless. At best they were marking time.

The state of affairs in the ranks of the German Social-Democratic opposition is undoubtedly of the greatest interest to all the internationalists. The Official German Social-Democracy, formerly the strongest and the leading party of the Second International, has dealt the international organisation of the workers the most telling blow. But it transpires that the opposition within the German Social-Democracy is also the strongest. Of the great European parties, it was in the German party that the comrades who had remained loyal to the banner of Socialism had first raised a loud cry of protest. With joy we read the magazines *Lichtstrahlen* and *Die Internationale*; with still greater joy we have learned of the distribution in Germany of illegal revolutionary appeals such as, for instance, *Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land* [*The Main Enemy Is in Our Own Country*]. This revealed the fact that the spirit of Socialism was alive among the German workers, that there still were men in Germany capable of defending revolutionary Marxism.

The split in modern Socialism has manifested itself most glaringly within German Social-Democracy. We note here three very clearly defined lines: the opportunist-chauvinists who nowhere have sunk to such a level of degradation and renegadism as in Germany; the Kautskyist "centre" which has proven completely incapable of playing any other rôle than that of a satellite to the opportunists; and the Left which represents the only Social-Democrats in Germany.

We are naturally most interested in the state of affairs inside of the German Left. We see in it our comrades, the hope of all the internationalist elements.

What, then, is that state of affairs?

Die Internationale was perfectly right when it said that within the German Left everything was still in a state of ferment, that great re-groupings were still ahead, that there were in its midst more outspoken and less outspoken elements.

We Russian internationalists, of course, in no way assume to meddle in the internal affairs of our comrades, the German Left. We understand that they alone are perfectly competent to define their methods of struggle against the opportunists in accordance with the conditions

of time and place. We only consider it our right and our duty openly to express our opinion concerning that state of affairs.

We are convinced that the author of the editorial in *Die Internationale* was perfectly right when he said that the Kautskyist "centre" was more harmful to the cause of Marxism than open social-chauvinism. He who at present glosses over discords, who, under the cloak of Marxism, preaches to the workers the things preached by Kautskyism, is merely lulling the workers to sleep, is more pernicious than the Südekums or Heines, who put the question squarely and compel the workers to make up their minds.

The fact that, of late, Kautsky and Haase are allowing themselves to demur against the "higher-ups" should deceive no one. The differences between them and the Scheidemanns are not those of principle. One group assumes that Hindenburg and Mackensen have already won the war and that therefore they can allow themselves the luxury of a protest against annexations. The other group thinks that Hindenburg and Mackensen have not yet won the war and that it is necessary to "see it through."

Kautskyism is conducting a sham fight against the "higher-ups"—in order to be able, when the war is over, to hide from the workers the clash of principles, to plaster up the issue by a thousand and one swollen resolutions in a hazy "Left" spirit (it is known that the diplomats of the Second International are past masters in this kind of work).

It goes without saying that, in its difficult struggle against the "higher-ups," the German opposition must take advantage even of this unprincipled opposition of Kautskyism. A hostile attitude toward neo-Kautskyism, however, must remain the touchstone for every internationalist. Only he is a real internationalist who fights against Kautskyism, who understands that even *after* the so-called change of heart by its leaders, the centre remains in principle an ally of the chauvinists and opportunists.

Generally speaking, our attitude towards the vacillating elements in the International is of tremendous importance. Those elements, namely Socialists of a *pacifist* shade, exist both in the neutral and in some belligerent countries (in England, for instance, the Independent Labour Party). These elements can be our fellow travellers. It is necessary to get closer to them with the aim of fighting the social-

chauvinists. But we must remember that they are *only* fellow travellers; that as far as the main and fundamental problems are concerned, when the International is reconstructed, those same elements will go, not with us, but against us, with Kautsky, Scheidemann, Vandervelde, Sembat. At international conferences we must not confine our programme to what is acceptable to these elements, if we do not wish to become prisoners of the vacillating pacifists. This happened, for instance, at the International Women's Conference in Berne, where the German delegation, adhering to the standpoint of Comrade Clara Zetkin, in practice played the part of a "centre." The Women's Conference said only that which was acceptable to the delegates of the opportunist Dutch party of Troelstra and of the I.L.P., the latter, let us not forget, being the party which at the London Conference of the Entente chauvinists had voted in favour of Vandervelde's resolution. We pay the I.L.P. the tribute of greatest respect for its courageous struggle against the English government in war time. But we know that this party has never accepted the principles of Marxism, while, in our conviction, it is the chief task of the Social-Democratic opposition at the present moment to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism, to tell the workers, firmly and defiantly, how we look upon imperialist wars, to put forth the slogan of mass revolutionary action, *i.e.*, to turn the period imperialist war into the beginning of a period of civil wars.

Revolutionary Social-Democratic elements exist in many countries in spite of everything. They exist in Germany, in Russia, and in Scandinavia (an influential trend of opinion represented by Comrade Höglund), in the Balkans (the party of the Bulgarian "Tesnyaks"), in Italy, in England (part of the British Socialist Party), in France (where Vaillant admitted in *L'Humanité* that he had received letters of protest from the internationalists, of which, however, he published none in full), in Holland ("Tribunists"), etc. To unite these Marxian elements, however small their number may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real Socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism, this is the task of the day.

Hitherto, conferences with so-called programmes of "actions" have confined themselves to a more or less outspoken programme of pure pacifism. Marxism is not pacifism. It is necessary to *fight* for a speedy

end of the war. But only through a call to *revolutionary* struggle will the "peace" demand, gain proletarian content. Without a series of revolutions, the so-called democratic peace is a petty-bourgeois Utopia. The only real programme of action, then, would be the Marxian programme which brings the masses a complete and clear understanding of what has happened; which explains what imperialism is and how to fight against it; which declares openly that opportunism has brought about the collapse of the Second International; which appeals to the workers to build up a Marxian International openly without and *against* the opportunists. Only such a programme showing that we believe in ourselves, that we believe in Marxism, that we declare a life and death struggle against opportunism, would sooner or later secure for us the sympathy of the real proletarian masses.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has long split away from its opportunists. The Russian opportunists have now, in addition, become chauvinists. This only reinforces us in our belief that a split with them is necessary in the interests of Socialism. We are convinced that the present differences between the Social-Democrats and the social-chauvinists are by no means smaller than the differences that existed between the Socialists and Anarchists when the Social-Democrats split away from the latter. An opportunist by the name of Monitor has rightly said in the *Preussische Jahrbucher* (*Prussian Annals*) that the present unity is good for the opportunists and for the bourgeoisie, because it forces the Left to yield to the chauvinists and prevents the workers from getting to the bottom of the controversy and from creating their own real labour party, a real Socialist party. We are firmly convinced that it is the prime duty of a revolutionist in the present conditions to split away from the opportunists and chauvinists. This is just as necessary as the split with the yellows, the anti-Semites, the liberal workers' unions, etc., was necessary in order more quickly to enlighten the backward workers and to draw them into the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties.

It is our opinion that the Third International ought to be created

on this revolutionary basis. Our party does not even question any more the expediency of breaking with the social-chauvinists. This question has been decided by it unreservedly. The question that interests it is how to carry it out in the near future on an international scale.

It is quite obvious that in order to create an *international* Marxist organisation, the separate countries must be ready to create independent local Marxist parties. Germany, the home of the oldest and strongest labour movement, is of decisive importance. The near future will show whether conditions have already become ripe for the creation of a new Marxist International. If so, our party will gladly join such a Third International, purged of opportunism and chauvinism. If not, it will mean that a more or less protracted period of evolution is required before this task of purging is completed. Our party will then be the extreme opposition inside the old International pending a time when the basis for an International Association of Workers resting on the basis of revolutionary Marxism will have been created in the various countries. We do not and we cannot know which road developments will take in the coming years, internationally. What we know, however, what we are most firmly convinced of, is that in *our* country, amongst *our* proletariat, our party will untiringly work in the indicated direction, that by its daily activities it will be creating the Russian section of a Marxist International.

Russia is at present not lacking in frank social-chauvinists and in groups of the "centre." These people will struggle against the organisation of a Marxist International. We know that Plekhanov accepts the principles of Südekum and is reaching out to join hands with him. We know that the so-called Organisation Committee under Axelrod's leadership is preaching Kautskyism on Russian soil. Under the cloak of unity of the working class those people preach unity with the opportunists and through them with the bourgeoisie. What we know of the present Russian labour movement, however, gives us full assurance that the class-conscious proletariat of Russia will, as hitherto, remain *with our party.*

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE SPLIT, AND THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

THE tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in relation to the war, as outlined above, represent the inevitable result of thirty years' development of Social-Democracy in Russia. One cannot correctly understand either these tactics or the present situation of Social-Democracy in our country without going deeper into the history of our party. It is for this reason that we must remind the reader of the main data of this history.

As an ideological tendency, Social-Democracy came into existence in 1883 when the Social-Democratic views, as applied to Russia, were for the first time systematically expounded abroad by the Liberation of Labour group. Up to the beginning of the nineties, Social-Democracy remained an ideological tendency without connections with the mass labour movement in Russia. At the beginning of the nineties the spread of political unrest in the country, the fermentation and the strike movement among the workers made Social-Democracy an active political force inseparably connected with the struggle, both economic and political, of the working class. From that moment also begins the split of Social-Democracy into Economists and Iskraists.*

THE ECONOMISTS AND THE OLD "ISKRA"** (1894-1903)

Economism was an opportunist trend within the Russian Social-Democracy. Its political substance reduced itself to a programme declaring that "economic" struggle is the task of the workers, political struggle that of the liberals. Its main theoretical support was the so-called "legal Marxism" or "Struveism" which recognised a species

* See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—*Ed.*
** *Spark.*—*Ed.*

of "Marxism" entirely purged of revolutionary spirit and adapted to the requirements of the liberal bourgeoisie. Referring to the backwardness of the masses of the workers in Russia, and wishing "to go with the masses," the Economists confined the task and the scope of the labour movement to economic struggle and to the political support of liberalism, without setting for themselves independent political tasks, or any kind of revolutionary tasks.

The old *Iskra* (1900-1903) victoriously fought Economism in the name of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy. The flower of the class-conscious proletariat went over to the *Iskra* in a body. A few years before the revolution, Social-Democracy advanced a most consistent and uncompromising programme. The struggle of the classes, the upheaval of the masses in the course of the 1905 Revolution, proved the correctness of that programme. The Economists had adapted themselves to the backwardness of the masses. The *Iskra* stepped forth as the vanguard of the workers, capable of leading the masses onward. The present-day arguments of the social-chauvinists (necessity of reckoning with the masses, progressivism of imperialism, "illusions" of the revolutionists, etc.) had *all* been advanced by the Economists in their time. The opportunist adulteration of Marxism as Struveism became known to Social-Democratic Russia twenty years ago.

MENSHEVISM AND BOLSHEVISM (1903-1908)

The period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution called forth a new struggle of policies within Social-Democracy, a direct continuation of the former struggle. Economism was transformed into "Menshevism." The defence of the revolutionary tactics of the old *Iskra* created "Bolshevism."

In the stormy years of 1905-1907, Menshevism was an opportunist current supported by the liberal bourgeoisie and introducing liberal bourgeois tendencies into the labour movements. To adapt the struggle of the working class to liberalism, that was its substance. Bolshevism, on the other hand, saw the task of the Social-Democratic workers in arousing the democratic peasantry to a revolutionary struggle in spite of the vacillations and betrayals of Liberalism. It has been repeatedly

recognised by the Mensheviks themselves that during the revolution the working masses followed the Bolsheviks in every important undertaking.

The 1905 Revolution confirmed, strengthened, deepened, and hardened the irreconcilably revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics in Russia. Open actions of classes and parties more than once revealed a connection between Social-Democratic opportunism (" Menshevism ") and Liberalism.

MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM (1908-1914)

The period of counter-revolution again placed on the order of the day of Social-Democracy the question of opportunist vs. revolutionary tactics, but in a totally new form. The main body of Menshevism, disregarding the protests of many of its best representatives, gave birth to a policy known as Liquidationism which meant relinquishing the struggle for a new revolution in Russia, relinquishing underground organisation and work, scoffing scornfully at the " underground," at the slogan of a republic, etc. A group of contributors to the legal magazine *Nasha Zarya* (Messrs. Potresov, Cherevanin, etc.) formed a nucleus which, being independent of the old Social-Democratic Party, has in a thousand ways been supported, advertised, and petted by the liberal bourgeoisie of Russia in its attempt to make the Russian workers lose the habit of revolutionary struggle.

This group of opportunists was expelled from the party by the January, 1912, Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which reconstituted the party against the frantic resistance of a number of big and small groups living abroad. For more than two years (beginning of 1912 to the middle of 1914) a tenacious struggle was going on between the two Social-Democratic parties, that is, between the Central Committee which had been elected in January, 1912, and the Organisation Committee which did not recognise the January Conference and wished to reconstitute the party on a different basis while maintaining unity with the group of *Nasha Zarya*. There was a tenacious struggle also between the two daily labour papers (the *Pravda* and *Luch* [*Ray*] and between their respective successors) and between the two Social Democratic groups in the Fourth Imperial Duma (the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction

of Pravdists or Marxists, and the "Social-Democratic" group of Liquidators led by Chkheidze).

Fighting for loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the party; sponsoring the new wave of unrest which was mounting among the working class, especially after the spring of 1912; combining legal with illegal organisations, press and propaganda, the Pravdists cemented around themselves an overwhelming majority of the class-conscious working class, whereas the Liquidators, acting as a political power exclusively through the group of *Nasha Zarya*, based themselves on an all-round support of the liberal bourgeois elements.

Open monetary contributions of the workers' groups to the papers of both parties, being at that time a form of Social-Democratic *membership dues* adapted to Russian conditions (the only one *legally* admitted and publicly controlled) proved in a concrete manner the proletarian source of the "Pravdists'" (Marxists') strength and influence, and the bourgeois-liberal source of the Liquidators (with their Organisation Committee). Here are some figures relative to the contributions, as given at length in the book, *Marxism and Liquidationism*, and in an abbreviated form in the German Social Democratic paper *Leipziger Volkszeitung* [*Leipzig People's Gazette*], July 21, 1914.
Number and amount of contributions to the daily St. Petersburg papers, the Marxist (Pravdist) and Liquidationist, from Jan. 1 to May 13, 1914.

Number and amount of contributions to the daily St. Petersburg papers, the Marxist (Pravdist) and Liquidationist, from Jan. 1 to May 13, 1914.

	Pravdists		Liquidators	
	No. of Contributions	Amount (in rubles)	No. of Contributions	Amount (in rubles)
From workers' groups	2,873	18,934	671	5,296
From other sources	713	2,650	423	6,760

It thus appears that in 1914 our party rallied four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia to the support of the revolutionary Social Democratic tactics. Throughout the whole year of 1913, the number of contributions from workers' groups was 2,181 for the Pravdists and 661 for the Liquidators. From Jan. 1, 1913, to May 13, 1914, the number of contributions from workers' groups was: Pravdists (*i.e.*, our party) 5,054, Liquidators, 1,332, *i.e.*, 20.8 per cent.

MARXISM AND SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM (1914-1915)

The great European War of 1914-1915 gave the European as well as the Russian Social-Democrats a chance to test the correctness of their tactics by applying them to a world-wide crisis. The reactionary, predatory, slave-driving character of the present war is infinitely more obvious in relation to tsarism than in relation to other governments. Still, the main group of Liquidators (the only one which, aside from ours, has a considerable influence in Russia, thanks to its liberal connections) turned towards social-chauvinism! Having had for a considerable length of time the monopoly of legality, this group. *Nasha Zarya*, conducted a propaganda among the masses in favour of "not resisting the war," in favour of a victory of the Triple (at present Quadruple) Entente, and accused German imperialism of "extraordinary sins," etc. Plekhanov, who since 1903 has repeatedly shown examples of his utter lack of political character, and who often went over to the opportunists, took this position even more decisively. For this action he is acclaimed by the whole bourgeois press of Russia. So deep has Plekhanov sunk, that he declares the tsarist war to be a just war and is publishing interviews in the government papers of Italy, enticing it to join the war.

Thus it was sufficiently proven that we were right in our understanding of Liquidationism and in excluding the main group of Liquidators from our party. The actual programme of the Liquidators and the actual meaning of their line of action is not only opportunism as such, but a direct defence of the privileges of Russia as a great nation and of the prerogatives of the great Russian landowners and the bourgeoisie. Liquidationism is at present a *national-liberal* trend in the labour movement. It is an alliance of a section of the radical petty bourgeoisie and a negligible number of privileged workers with "their" national bourgeoisie against the masses of the proletariat.

THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

As mentioned above, neither the Liquidators nor the numerous groups living abroad (those of Plekhanov, Alexinsky, Trotsky and others), nor the so-called "national" Social-Democrats (of the non-

Russian nationalities) recognised our January, 1912, Conference. The accusations that were most often repeated in the numberless invectives hurled at us were " usurpation " and " split." Our reply to these accusations consisted in quoting exact figures and objectively verifiable proof to the effect that our party had united four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia. Not a small achievement under the hardships of illegal work in a counter-revolutionary period.

If unity were possible in Russia on the basis of Social-Democratic tactics without excluding the group of *Nasha Zarya*, why has this unity not been accomplished by our numberless opponents *at least among themselves*? Three and a half years have passed since January, 1912, and during all this time our opponents, while wishing it ardently, were in no position to create a Social-Democratic party against us. This is the best defence of our party.

The history of those Social-Democratic groups which struggle against our party is a history of breakdown and degeneration. In March, 1912, all of them, without exception, " united " in reviling us. In August, 1912, however, when the so-called " August Bloc " against us was created disintegration set in. Part of their groups split away. They were in no position to create a party and a Central Committee. What they created was an Organisation Committee " for the re-establishment of unity." In reality, this Organisation Committee proved an ineffective shield for the Liquidationist group in Russia. Through the whole period of a tremendous rising wave of the labour movement in Russia and of the mass strikes of 1912-1914 the only group of the August Bloc which conducted work among the masses was *Nashya Zarya*, whose strength is in its liberal connections. At the beginning of 1914, the August Bloc was formally relinquished by the Lettish Social-Democrats (the Polish Social-Democrats did not belong to it), whereas Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Bloc, relinquished it informally, having created his own separate group. In July, 1914, at a conference in Brussels with the participation of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, also Kautsky and Vandervelde, the so-called Brussels Bloc was formed against us; it was not joined in by the Letts and immediately after its formation was relinquished by the Polish Social-Democrats, who belong to the opposition. After the beginning of the war this Bloc broke up. *Nasha Zarya*, Plekhanov, Alexinsky, and the leader of the Caucasian

Social-Democrats, An, became open social-chauvinists, preaching the desirability of a German defeat. The Organisation Committee and the Bund defend social-chauvinists and the foundations of social-chauvinism. Chkheidze's fraction, having voted against military appropriations (in Russia even the bourgeois democrats, the Trudoviks, voted against them), nevertheless remained a loyal ally of *Nasha Zarya*. Our extreme social-chauvinists, Plekhanov, Alexinsky and Co., are perfectly satisfied with Chkheidze's fraction. In Paris, a paper *Nashe Slovo* (formerly *Golos*) is being founded, with Martov and Trotsky as the main contributors, both wishing to combine a platonic defence of internationalism with an unconditional demand for unity with *Nasha Zarya*, the Organisation Committee, or Chkheidze's fraction. Having published 250 issues, the paper is compelled to admit its disintegration : one part of the editorial staff is heading towards our party, Martov " remaining loyal " to the Organisation Committee, which publicly denounces the *Nashe Slovo* for " Anarchism " (in the same way as the opportunists of Germany, David and Co., the *Internationale Korrespondenz* [*International Correspondence*], Legien and Co., accuse Comrade Liebknecht of Anarchism) ; Trotsky makes known his breach with the Organisation Committee, but he wishes to go together with the Chkheidze fraction. Here is the programme of Chkheidze's fraction as expressed by one of its leaders. In No. 5 of the *Sovremenny Mir* [*Contemporary World*] of 1915, a magazine of Plekhanov's and Alexinsky's orientation, Chkhenkeli writes : " *To say that German Social-Democracy was in a position to prevent the military action of its country but failed to do so, would mean either covertly to wish that it should exhale on the barricades not only its own last breath but the last breath of its fatherland as well, or to look at things near-by through an Anarchist's telescope.*"*

These few lines express the sum and substance of social-chauvinism : a justification, in principle, of the " defence of the fatherland " idea in the present war ; mockery, by permission of the military censors, at the advocacy of and preparation for a revolution. Whether the German Social-Democracy was capable of preventing the war, whether the revolutionists are, in general, capable of guaranteeing the success of a

**Sovremenny Mir*, No. 5, 1915, p. 148. Trotsky has recently declared that he thinks it his task to raise the authority of Chkheidze's fraction in the International. Chkhenkeli undoubtedly will just as energetically raise the authority of Trotsky in the International.

revolution, is beside the point. The question is, should we conduct ourselves as Socialists or should we actually "exhale our last breath" in the embrace of the imperialist bourgeoisie?

TASKS OF OUR PARTY

Social-Democracy in Russia came into being before the bourgeois democratic revolution (1905) and became strong during the revolution and counter-revolution. The backwardness of Russia explains the unusual abundance of currents and shades of petty-bourgeois opportunism in our country, whereas the influence of Marxism in Europe and the solidity of the legal Social-Democratic parties prior to the war turned our exemplary liberals into near-admirers of the "sensible," "European" ("non-revolutionary") "Marxist" theory and Social-Democracy. The working class of Russia could build up its party in no other way than by resolutely fighting for thirty years against all varieties of opportunism. The experience of the World War which has brought about the ignominious collapse of European opportunism, and which sealed the alliance of our national liberals with social-chauvinist Liquidationism, confirms us in our conviction that our party must in the future follow the same straight revolutionary road.

LETTERS FROM AFAR

BY

V. I. LENIN

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Reprinted from *The Revolution of 1917*, by V. L. Lenin

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

NEWS of the outbreak of the revolution, the establishment of Soviets in Petrograd and Moscow, the abdication of the Tsar and the formation of the bourgeois Provisional Government reached Lenin in Zurich, Switzerland, through the extra editions of the local newspapers on March 15, 1917. The following day he wrote to Alexandra Kollontai in Norway that "the 'first stage of the firs revolution' bred by the war will be neither final nor confined tc Russia" and observed that, although the workers, supported by the revolutionary soldiers, had carried through the revolution, state power was seized by the bourgeoisie according to "the same 'old' European pattern."

With great avidity Lenin absorbs all the news from Russia in the English, French and German papers he can lay his hands on and thinks of how speedily he can end his years of exile and return to the scene of action among the Petrograd workers where he began his revolutionary work more than twenty years before. On March 17 he writes again to Kollontai, making arrangements to obtain direct news from his co-workers in Russia, and completes the draft of the theses outlining his views on the revolution.

In his preliminary theses Lenin adjures his comrades to be prepared for the possible attempt to restore the monarchy and to consider the Provisional Government, which has "snatched" power from the proletariat, as having the same imperialist aims in the war as the Tsar's government. After making a class analysis of the government in power, showing that it is nothing but a government of capitalists and landowners, Lenin proves that it cannot give the masses what they expect from the revolution—peace, bread and freedom. Only "a complete victory of the next stage of the revolution and the conquest of power by a workers' government" could secure the fruits of the revolution for the broad masses of the people.

Not unity with the vacillating and compromising parties active among the workers and peasants, but the building of a revolutionary Socialist party and a relentless struggle for the leadership of the continually rising revolutionary masses; not confidence in the Provisional Government, but a vigorous campaign of exposure of its true capitalist nature and imperialist aims—this is what Lenin insists upon in his first brief messages to the Bolsheviks in Russia. "Spread out! Arouse new strata! Awaken new initiative, form new organisations in every layer, and *prove* to them that *peace* can

come only with the armed Soviet of Workers' Deputies in power," are Lenin's clarion call to his comrades-in-arms.

During March 20-April 8 Lenin wrote the famous five "Letters from Afar" which are reproduced here in full (pp. 5-42). The last letter, written on the day of his departure for Russia, was not completed. The first letter, "The First Stage of the First Revolution," reached Petrograd and was published in the *Pravda*, April 3-4, while the other four were published only after Lenin's death in 1924. This series of letters, the main ideas of which the reader will find summarised by Lenin at the beginning of the fifth letter (p. 40), touched upon all the fundamental problems of the revolution and charted the course of its development. They carry the imprint of the genius that was Lenin—his Marxist clarity, acute revolutionary perception, abounding faith in the masses—foreshadowing who was to be the recognised organiser and leader of the Russian Revolution and the founder of the workers' state which covers one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The Russian Revolution has opened the epoch of the world proletarian revolution, Lenin informs the revolutionary workers of other countries. On April 8, the day of his departure for Russia, he pens his "Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers" (pp. 42-48) aimed to reach beyond the confines of the Swiss labor movement. The Bolshevik viewpoint of the nature of the Russian Revolution, the attitude toward the imperialist war, and the situation in the international Socialist movement are presented by Lenin. Written at the same time and dealing with the international significance and tasks of the Russian Revolution, the "Farewell Letter" may be considered complementary to the "Letters from Afar" which is the reason for its inclusion in this booklet.

In reprinting the "Letters from Afar" as a separate volume in the Little Lenin Library, the publishers call attention to Volumes 8 to 13 in this series which include selected writings of Lenin from the overthrow of the Tsar in March to the seizure of power in November, 1917. These writings cover the most important stages of the developing revolution and the part played in it by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin. The reader is also directed to Volumes XX and XXI of Lenin's *Collected Works*, covering the entire period of the Revolution of 1917 and containing all the writings and speeches of Lenin during this period. In these volumes will be found also numerous explanatory and biographical notes which will aid the reader in understanding the events of the period and the various allusions made by Lenin.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

LETTERS FROM AFAR

FIRST LETTER

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE FIRST REVOLUTION

THE first revolution arising out of the imperialist World War has broken out. This first revolution will, certainly, not be the last.

The first stage of this first revolution, namely, the *Russian* revolution of March 14, 1917, is over, according to the scanty information at the writer's disposal in Switzerland. Surely this first stage of our revolution will not be the last one.

How could such a "miracle" happen, that in eight days—the period indicated by M. Miliukov in his boastful telegram to all the representatives of Russia abroad—a monarchy that had maintained itself for centuries, and continued to maintain itself during three years of tremendous national class conflicts of 1905-1907, could utterly collapse?

There are no miracles in nature or in history, yet every sudden turn in history, including every revolution, presents such a wealth of material, it unfolds such unexpectedly peculiar co-ordinations of forms of conflict and alignment of fighting forces, that there is much that must appear miraculous to the burgher's mind.

A combination of a whole series of conditions of world-wide historic importance was required for the tsarist monarchy to collapse in a few days. Let us point out the principal ones.

Without the three years, 1905-1907, of tremendous class conflicts and of revolutionary energy of the Russian proletariat, this second revolution could not possibly have had the rapid progress indicated in the fact that its *first* phase was accomplished in a few days. The first revolution (1905) ploughed the ground deeply and uprooted the prejudices of centuries; it awakened to political life and struggle millions of workers and tens of millions of peasants. The first revolution revealed to the workers and peasants, as well as to the world, all the classes (and all the principal parties) of Russian society in their true character; the actual alignment of their in-

terests, their powers and modes of action, their immediate and ultimate objectives. This first revolution, and the succeeding counter-revolutionary period (1907-1914), fully revealed the nature of the tsarist monarchy as having reached the "utmost limit"; it exposed all the infamy and vileness, all the cynicism and corruption of the tsarist clique dominated by that monster, Rasputin; it exposed all the bestiality of the Romanov family—that band of assassins which bathed Russia in the blood of the Jews, the workers, the revolutionaries—those landowners, "first among peers," who owned millions of acres of land and would stoop to any brutality, to any crime—ready to ruin or crush any section of the population, however numerous, in order to preserve the "sacred property rights" for themselves and for their class.

Without the revolution of 1905-1907, without the counter-revolution of 1907-1914, it would have been impossible to secure so clear a "self-determination" of all classes of the Russian people and of all the peoples inhabiting Russia, a clarification of the relation of these classes to each other and to the tsarist monarchy, as transpired during the eight days of the March revolution. This eight-day revolution, if we may express ourselves in terms of metaphors, was "performed" after a dozen informal as well as dress rehearsals; the "actors" knew each other and their rôles, their places, and the entire setting; they knew every detail through and through, down to the last more or less significant shade of political tendency and mode of action.

But, in order that the first great revolution of 1905, which Messrs. Guchkov and Miliukov and their satellites condemned as a "great rebellion" should, after the lapse of a dozen years, lead to the "glorious revolution" of 1917—so termed by the Guchkovs and Miliukovs because (for the *present*) it has put them into power—there was still needed a great, mighty, all-powerful "regisseur," who was, on the one hand, in a position to accelerate the course of history on a grand scale, and, on the other, to produce world-wide crises of unheard-of intensity: economic, political, national and international. In addition to an unusual acceleration of world history, there were also needed particularly sharp historic turns so that during one of them the blood-stained chariot of tsarism might be overturned in a trice.

This all-powerful "regisseur," this mighty accelerator of events, was the imperialist World War.

Now it can no longer be doubted that this war is world-wide, for the United States and China have been half dragged in already, and to-morrow will be completely involved in it.

Nor can it any longer be doubted that the war is imperialistic on both sides. Only the capitalists and their satellites, the social-patriots and social-chauvinists, can deny or suppress this fact. Both the German and the Anglo-French bourgeoisie are waging war for the grabbing of foreign territory, for the strangulation of small nations, for financial supremacy over the world, for the division and redistribution of colonies, for saving the tottering capitalist régime by means of deceiving and disuniting the workers in the various countries.

It was objectively inevitable that the imperialist war should immensely quicken and unusually sharpen the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and transform itself into a civil war between hostile classes.

This transformation has been started by the March revolution, whose first stage has shown us, first, a joint attack on tsarism delivered by two forces: on the one hand, the whole bourgeois and landowning class of Russia, with all their unenlightened followers and very enlightened managers, in the persons of the Anglo-French ambassadors and capitalists; and, on the other, the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

These three political camps, three fundamental political forces: (1) The tsarist monarchy, the head of the feudal landowning class, the head of the old bureaucracy and of the higher military commanders; (2) the Russia of the bourgeoisie and landowners represented by the Octobrists and Cadets, with the petty bourgeoisie in their wake; (3) the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, seeking for allies among the entire proletariat and the whole mass of the poorest population—these three fundamental political forces have revealed themselves with utmost clarity even in the first eight days of the "first stage." This is evident even to such an observer as the present writer who is far away from the scene of events and is compelled to confine himself to the meagre dispatches of foreign papers.

But before going into further detail in this matter, I must come back to that portion of my letter which is devoted to a factor of first importance, namely, the imperialist World War.

The belligerent powers, the belligerent groups of capitalists, the "masters" of the capitalist system, and the slave-drivers of capitalist slavery, have been shackled to each other by the war with chains of iron. *One bloody lump,* that is the socio-political life of the historic period through which we are now passing.

The Socialists who deserted to the bourgeoisie at the beginning of the war, all the Davids and Scheidemanns in Germany, the Plekhanovs, Potresovs, Gvozdevs and Co. in Russia, have long been shouting lustily against the "illusions" of the revolutionists, against the "illusions" of the Basle Manifesto, against the "dream farce" of turning the imperialist war into civil war. They have sung hymns of praise to the alleged strength, tenacity and adaptability of capitalism, while they were aiding the capitalists in "adapting," taming, deceiving and disuniting the working classes of the various countries!

But "he who laughs last laughs best." The bourgeoisie was not able to delay for very long the coming of the revolutionary crisis produced by the war. This crisis is growing with irresistible force in all countries, beginning with Germany where, according to a recent observer who visited that country, there is "hunger organised with the ability of genius," and down to England and France where hunger is also looming, though it is not so "wonderfully" organised.

It is natural that the tsarist Russia, where disorganisation was monstrous, where the proletariat is the most revolutionary in the world (not due to any specific characteristics, but because of the vivid traditions of "1905"), the revolutionary crisis should have burst forth earlier than anywhere else. The crisis was hastened by a number of most serious defeats inflicted on Russia and her allies. These defeats disorganised the entire old mechanism of government and the entire old system; they aroused the indignation of *all* classes of the population; they incensed the army and largely wiped out the old body of commanders hailing from the backward nobility and particularly from the rotten officialdom, replacing it with a young and buoyant one of a predominantly bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and declassed origin.

But, if military defeats played the rôle of a negative factor that hastened the outbreak, the alliance of Anglo-French finance-capital, of Anglo-French imperialism, with the Octobrist and Constitutional-

Democratic * capital of Russia appeared as a factor that speeded this crisis.

This highly important phase of the situation is, for obvious reasons, not mentioned by the Anglo-French press while maliciously emphasised by the German. We Marxists must face the truth soberly, being confused neither by the official lies, the sugary diplomatic and ministerial lies of one group of imperialist belligerents, nor by the sniggering and smirking of its financial and military rivals of the other belligerent group. The whole course of events in the March revolution shows clearly that the English and French embassies with their agents and "associates," who had long made the most desperate efforts to prevent a "separate" agreement and a separate peace between Nicholas II (let us hope and strive that he be the last) and Wilhelm II, strove directly to dethrone Nicholas Romanov.

Let us not harbour any illusions.

The fact that the revolution succeeded so quickly and, apparently, at the first superficial glance, so "radically," is due to an unusual historical conjuncture where there combined, in a strikingly "favourable" manner, absolutely dissimilar movements, absolutely different class interests, absolutely opposed political and social tendencies. There was the conspiracy of the Anglo-French imperialists who encouraged Miliukov, Guchkov and Co. to seize power, with the object of prolonging the imperialist war, with the object of conducting the war more savagely and obstinately, with the object of slaughtering new millions of Russian workers and peasants, in order that the Guchkovs might obtain Constantinople; the French, Syria; the English capitalists, Mesopotamia, etc. This, on the one side. On the other, there was a profound proletarian and popular mass movement (of the entire poorest population of the cities and villages) of a revolutionary character, for bread, for peace, for real freedom.

The revolutionary workers and soldiers have destroyed the infamous tsarist monarchy to its very foundations, being neither elated nor constrained by the fact that, at certain brief historic moments of an exceptional combination of circumstances, they are aided by the struggle of Buchanan, Guchkov, Miliukov and Co., who simply desire to replace one monarch by another.

* The parties of big capital and landowners, and liberal bourgeoisie respectively.—*Ed.*

Thus, and only thus, did it occur. Thus, and only thus, must be the view of the politician who is not afraid of the truth, who soberly weighs the interrelation of social forces in a revolution, who evaluates every given moment not only from the viewpoint of its present peculiarities, but also from the standpoint of the more fundamental motives, the deeper interrelation of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in Russia as well as throughout the world.

The workers and soldiers of Petrograd, as well as the workers and soldiers of all Russia, self-sacrificingly fought against the tsarist monarchy—for freedom, for land for the peasants, for peace as against the imperialist slaughter. Anglo-French imperialist capital, in order to continue and develop the slaughter, engaged in court intrigues, it framed conspiracies, incited and encouraged the Guchkovs and Miliukovs, and contrived a new government, which, ready made, seized power after the proletarian struggle had delivered the first blows against tsarism.

This government is not a fortuitous assemblage of persons.

They are the representatives of the new class that has risen to political power in Russia, the class of the capitalist landowners and bourgeoisie that for a long time has been ruling our country economically, and that, in the revolution of 1905-1907, in the counter-revolutionary period of 1907-1914, and then, with extraordinary rapidity, in the period of the war of 1914-1917, organised itself politically, taking into its hands local self-government, popular education, conventions of every type, the Duma, the war industries committees, etc. This new class was almost in power in 1917; therefore the first blows against tsarism were sufficient to destroy the latter, and to clear the ground for the bourgeiosie. The imperialist war, requiring an incredible exertion of strength, so accelerated the course of development of backward Russia that at a single stroke (at least it seems like a single stroke) we have caught up with Italy, England, even France; we have attained a "coalition," a "national," "parliamentary" government (*i. e.*, a government adapted to carrying on the imperialist slaughter and deceiving the people).

Alongside of this government, which, as regards the present war, is but the clerk of the billion-dollar "firms" England and France, there has arisen a new, unofficial, as yet undeveloped and comparatively weak, workers' government, expressing the interests of the

workers and of all the poorer elements of the city and country population. This is the Petrograd *Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.*

Such is the actual political situation which we must first of all try to establish with the greatest possible objective precision, in order that we may base Marxist tactics on the only solid foundation upon which they should be based—the foundation of facts.

The tsarist monarchy has been beaten, but not destroyed.

The Octobrist-Cadet bourgeois government, wishing to carry on the imperialist war "to a finish," is in reality the agent of the financial firm "England and France"; it is forced to promise to the people a maximum of liberties and pittances compatible with the maintenance by this government of its power over the people and the possibility of continuing the imperialist war.

The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is a workers' government in embryo, a representative of the interests of all the poorest masses of the population, *i. e.*, of nine-tenths of the population which is striving for peace, bread, and liberty.

The conflict among these three forces determines the situation as it is at present, a transition stage from the first phase of the revolution to the second.

In order that there may be a real struggle against the tsarist monarchy, in order that freedom may really be secured, not merely in words, not in the promises of rhetorical liberalism, it is necessary not that the workers should support the new government, but that this government should support the workers! For the only guarantee of liberty and of a complete destruction of tsarism is the arming of the proletariat, the strengthening, broadening, and developing of the rôle, and significance, and power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

All the rest is mere phrases and lies, the self-deception of the politicians of the liberal and radical stamp.

Help the arming of the workers, or, at least, do not interfere with it, and the liberty of Russia is invincible, the monarchy incapable of restoration, the republic secured.

Otherwise the people will be deceived. Promises are cheap; promises cost nothing. It is on promises that all the bourgeois politicians in *all* the bourgeois revolutions have been feeding the people and fooling the workers.

"Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, therefore the workers

must support the bourgeoisie," say the worthless politicians among the *Liquidators*.*

"Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution," say we Marxists, "therefore the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deceptive practices of the bourgeois politicians, must teach the people not to believe in words, but to depend wholly on their own strength, on their own organisation, on their own unity, and on their own arms."

The government of the Octobrists and Cadets, of the Guchkovs and Miliukovs, could give neither peace, nor bread, nor freedom, even if it were sincere in its desire to do so.

It cannot give peace because it is a government for war, a government for the continuation of the imperialist slaughter, a government of conquest, a government that has not uttered one word to renounce the tsarist policy of seizure of Armenia, Galicia, Turkey, of capturing Constantinople, of reconquering Poland, Courland, Lithuania, etc. This government is bound hand and foot by Anglo-French imperialist capital. Russian capital is merely one branch of the world "firm" known as "England and France" manipulating hundreds of billions of rubles.

It cannot give bread, since it is a bourgeois government. At best it may give the people, as the government of Germany has done, "hunger organised with the ability of genius." But the people will not put up with hunger. The people will learn, probably very soon, that there is bread, and it can be obtained in no other way than by means that do not show any respect for the sanctity of capital and landownership.

It cannot give freedom, since it is a government of landowners and capitalists, which is afraid of the people.

In another article we will speak of the tactical problems confronting us in our immediate behaviour towards this government. There we shall show wherein consists the peculiarity of the present moment, which is a period of transition from the first stage of the revolution to the second, and why the slogan, the "order of the day" in the *present* moment must be: "Workers, you have displayed marvels of proletarian and popular heroism in the civil war against tsarism; you must display marvels of proletarian and

* Reformist Socialists—Mensheviks—who proposed the liquidation of the underground party organisation and instead favoured legal activities.—*Ed.*

nation-wide organisation in order to prepare your victory in the second stage of the revolution."

Limiting ourselves in the meanwhile to an analysis of the class struggle and the interrelation of class forces in this stage of the revolution, we must also raise the question: Who are the allies of the proletariat in this revolution?

It has two allies: first, the broad mass of the semi-proletarian and, partly, the petty peasant population of Russia, numbering scores of millions and forming the overwhelming majority of the population. This great mass needs peace, bread, liberty, land. This mass will inevitably be under a certain influence of the bourgeoisie, particularly of the petty bourgeoisie, which it resembles rather closely in its conditions of life, vacillating, as it does, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The cruel lessons of the war, which will become all the more cruel as Guchkov, Lvov, Miliukov and Co. carry on the war with greater energy, will inevitably push this mass toward the proletariat, compelling it to follow the proletariat. We must now, taking advantage of the freedom under the new régime and of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, strive, first of all and above all, to enlighten and organise this mass. Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, Soviets of Agricultural Workers,—these are among our most urgent tasks. We shall thereby strive not only that the agricultural workers should establish special Soviets of their own, but also that the poorest and propertyless peasants should organise separately from the well-to-do peasants. The special tasks and special forms of the organisation urgently needed at present, will be dealt with in another letter.

The second ally of the Russian proletariat is the proletariat of the warring countries and of all countries in general. At present, it is to a considerable degree weighed down by the war, and by the social-chauvinists who, like Plekhanov, Gvozdev, Potresov in Russia, have deserted to the bourgeoisie, but all too often speak in the workers' name. The liberation of the workers from their influence has progressed with every month of the imperialist war, and the Russian Revolution will necessarily accelerate this process tremendously.

Hand in hand with these two allies, the proletariat of Russia can and will proceed, while utilising the peculiarities of the present transition moment, to win, first, a democratic republic and the victory of the peasantry over the landlords, then Socialism, which

alone can give peace, bread, and freedom to the peoples exhausted by the war.

N. LENIN.

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SECOND LETTER

THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE PROLETARIAT

THE most important document at my disposal up to date (March 21) is the March 16 issue of the English ultra-conservative and ultra-bourgeois newspaper, *Times,* which contains a summary of the news dealing with the revolution in Russia. A source more favourably—expressing it mildly—inclined to the government of Guchkov and Miliukov, than this paper, would, of course, be difficult to find.

Reporting from Petrograd on Wednesday, March 14, when there was in existence only the *first* Provisional Government, *i. e.*, the Executive Committee of the Duma composed of 13 men with Rodzianko at their head, and including, as the paper says, two "Socialists," Kerensky and Chkheidze, the *Times* correspondent writes:

"A group of 22 elected members of the Upper House [State Council] including M. Guchkov, M. Stakhovich, Prince Trubetskoy, and Professors Vassiliev, Grimm, and Vernadsky, yesterday addressed a telegram to the Tsar," in which they implored him to save "the dynasty," etc., etc., by convoking the Duma and by naming some one who enjoys the "confidence of the nation" to head the government. "What the Emperor may decide to do on his arrival to-day is unknown at the hour of telegraphing, but one thing is quite certain. Unless His Majesty immediately complies with the wishes of the most moderate elements among his loyal subjects, the influence at present exercised by the Provisional Committee of the Imperial Duma will pass wholesale into the hands of the Socialists, who want to see a republic established, but who are unable to institute any kind of orderly government and would inevitably precipitate the country into anarchy within and disaster without."

How statesmanlike, wise, and clear! How well the English sympathiser (if not the leader) of the Guchkovs and the Miliukovs understands the interrelation of class forces and interests! "The most moderate elements among his loyal subjects," *i. e.*, the monarchist landowners and capitalists, want to gain power, because they realise perfectly well that otherwise "influence" will pass into the hands of the "Socialists." Why into the hands of the "Social-

ists," and not into any other hands? Because the English Guchkovite sees clearly that there is no other social force in the political arena and that there can be none. The revolution was made by the proletariat. The proletariat displayed heroism; it shed its blood; it swept with it the large masses of the toiling and very poor sections of the population; it demands bread, peace, and freedom; it demands a republic; it sympathises with Socialism. At the same time a handful of landowners and capitalists headed by the Guchkovs and Miliukovs wishes to delude the will and the aspirations of the overwhelming majority; it wishes to make a deal with the disappearing monarchy, to sustain and save it. Appoint Lvov and Guchkov, Your Majesty, and we will support the monarchy against the people. This is the whole meaning and essence of the new government's policy!

But how do they propose to justify this deception, this fooling of the people, this violation of the will of the vast majority of the population?

By using the old and ever new method of the bourgeoisie,—by maligning the people. Thus the English Guchkovite maligns and vilifies, spurts and sputters: "anarchy within and disaster without," no "orderly government"!!

You are wrong, my worthy Guchkovite! The workers want a republic, which is a much more "orderly" government than a monarchy. What assurance have the people that a second Romanov will not establish a second Rasputin? It is the prolongation of the war, it is the new government, that carries with it the threat of disaster. Only a proletarian republic, supported by the village workers and by the poorest section of the urban and rural population, can insure peace, bread, order, and freedom.

These outcries against anarchy are simply meant to cover up the selfish purposes of the capitalists, who are intent on enriching themselves through the war and war loans, who are intent on restoring the monarchy against the interests of the people.

". . . Yesterday," continues the correspondent, "the Social-Democratic Party issued a proclamation of a most seditious character, which was spread broadcast throughout the city. They are mere doctrinaires, but their power for mischief is enormous at a time like the present. M. Kerensky and M. Chkheidze, who realise that without the support of the officers and the more moderate elements of the people they cannot hope to avoid anarchy, have to reckon with their less prudent associates, and are insensibly driven to take up an attitude which complicates the task of the Provisional Committee."

Oh, great English Guchkovite diplomat! How "imprudently" you have babbled out the truth!

The "Social-Democratic Party" and the "less prudent associates," with whom Kerensky and Chkheidze are forced "to reckon," are evidently the Central or the Petrograd Committee of our party that was reconstructed by the conference of January, 1912; they are those very "Bolsheviks" whom the bourgeoisie always denounces as "doctrinaires" for being faithful to their "doctrine," *i. e.*, to the tenets, the principles, the teachings, the purposes of *Socialism*. Clearly, the English Guchkovite denounces as seditious and doctrinaire the appeal and conduct of our party because it urges the masses to fight for a republic, for peace, for a complete destruction of the tsarist monarchy, for bread for the people.

Bread for the people and peace, that is sedition; ministerial places for Guchkov and Miliukov, that is "order." Old, familiar talk!

Now what are the tactics of Kerensky and Chkheidze, as characterised by the English Guchkovite?

They are vacillating. On the one hand, the Guchkovite praises them. They, he claims, "realise" (good boys! clever boys!) that without the "support" of the officers and the more moderate elements of the people they cannot hope to avoid anarchy (and here we have been assuming, in accordance with our doctrine, with our Socialist teachings, that it is the capitalists who are forcing anarchy and wars upon human society, and that only the passing of *all* political power into the hands of the proletariat and the poorest elements of the people can rid us of wars, anarchy, hunger!). On the other hand, he complains, they "have to reckon with their less prudent associates," *i. e.*, the Bolsheviks, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, reconstructed and united by the Central Committee.*

But what force is it that "drives" Kerensky and Chkheidze to "reckon" with the Bolshevist party, to which they have never belonged, which they themselves or their literary representatives (the Socialists-Revolutionists, the People's Socialists, the Mensheviks of the Organisation Committee, etc.) have always denounced, con-

* The Central Committee elected at the 1912 Conference was the organisational centre of the Bolsheviks, while the Organisation Committee was that of the Mensheviks.—*Ed.*

demned, declared to be an insignificant underground group, a sect of doctrinaires, etc.?

When and where was it ever seen that politicians who have not lost their senses should, in times of revolution, in times of action of the *masses*, be swayed by "doctrinaires"?

The poor English Guchkovite got completely lost. Unable to fathom the situation, he could not tell a complete lie nor the whole truth, and succeeded only in betraying himself.

Kerensky and Chkheidze were forced to reckon with the Social-Democratic Party of the Central Committee because of the influence it exercises on the proletariat, the masses. Despite the arrest and the exile to Siberia of our Deputies in 1914, despite the severest persecutions and arrests/ which the Petrograd Committee had suffered throughout the war for its underground activity *against* war and against tsarism, our party was found with the masses, with the revolutionary proletariat.

The English say that facts are stubborn things. May we remind our most worthy English Guchkovite of this saying? The fact that during the great days of the revolution our party was leading or at least bravely helping the Petrograd workers had to be admitted by the English Guchkovite himself. He also had to admit the fact that Kerensky and Chkheidze are vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The followers of Gvozdev, the "defencists," *i. e.*, the social-chauvinists, *i. e.*, the defenders of the imperialist, predatory war, are at the present moment in full agreement with the bourgeoisie. Kerensky, having become a member of the Cabinet, *i. e.*, of the second Provisional Government, has also completely joined the bourgeoisie. Chkheidze has not followed; he is still wavering between the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie, of the Guchkovs and the Miliukovs, and the "provisional government" of the proletariat and the poorest masses of the people, the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party united by the Central Committee.

It follows, therefore, that the revolution has proved that we were right when we most persistently called upon the workers to realise clearly the class distinction between the major parties and major tendencies both in the labour movement and among the petty-bourgeoisie, when, for instance, we wrote in No. 47 of the Geneva *Social-Democrat*, on October 13, 1915, that is, almost a year and a half ago:

As heretofore we regard as permissible the participation of Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government together with the democratic groups of the petty-bourgeoisie, but *not* together with the revolutionists-chauvinists. We consider as revloutionists-chauvinists those who want a victory over tsarism in order to win a victory over Germany, in order to loot other countries, in order to strengthen the rule of the Great Russians over the other peoples of Russia, etc. The basis for revolutionary chauvinism is the class position of the petty-bourgeoisie, which is always vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. To-day it vacillates between chauvinism (which prevents it from being consistently revolutionary even as regards a democratic republic) and proletarian internationalism. The present political exponents of the petty-bourgeoisie in Russia are the Trudoviks,* the Socialists-Revolutionists, the *Nasha Zaria* (the present *Dielo*), Chkheidze's faction, the Organisation Committee, Mr. Plekhanov, etc. If the revolutionists-chauvinists were to win power in Russia, we would be against the defence of *their* "fatherland" in the present war. Our slogan is—oppose the chauvinists, even if they be revolutionists and republicans, oppose them and demand the union of the international proletariat for a Socialist revolution.

But let us return to the English Guchkovite.

"... The Provisional Committee of the Imperial Duma," he continues, "appreciating the dangers ahead, have purposely refrained from carrying out the original intention of arresting Ministers, although they could have done so yesterday without the slightest difficulty. The door is thus left open for negotiations, thanks to which we" ("we," *i. e.*, English finance capital and imperialism) "may obtain all the benefits of the new régime without passing through the dread ordeal of the Commune and the anarchy of civil war."

The Guchkovites were for civil war for their own benefit; they are against civil war for the people's benefit, *i. e.*, for that of the actual majority of toilers.

"... The relations between the Provisional Committee of the Duma, which represents the whole nation" (this about the committee of the landowners' and capitalists' Fourth Duma) "and the Council of Workers' Deputies, representing purely class interests" (the language of a diplomat who has heard in passing some learned words and is intent on concealing that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies represents the proletariat and the impoverished masses, i. e., nine-tenths of the population) "but in the crisis like the present wielding enormous power, have aroused no small misgivings among reasonable men regarding the possibility of a conflict between them—the results of which might be too terrible to describe."

"Happily this danger has been averted, at least for the present" (note this "at least"!) "thanks to the influence of Mr. Kerensky, a young lawyer of much oratorical ability, who clearly realises" (in contradistinction to Chkheidze who also "realised" but, in the opinion of the Guchkovite, evidently less clearly?) "the necessity of working with the Committee in the interests of his labour constituency" (*i. e.*, to flirt with labour in order to pull the labour vote). "A satisfactory arrangement was concluded to-day" (Wednesday, March 14), "whereby all unnecessary friction will be avoided."

* A parliamentary group primarily of peasant deputies under the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.—*Ed.*

What the arrangement was, whether it was with the *whole* Soviet of Workers' Deputies, what its conditions are, we do not know. The most important thing is now passed over in complete silence by the English Guchkovite. Certainly! It is disadvantageous to the bourgeoisie to make these conditions clear, precise, and public, —for then it may prove more difficult to violate them!

The foregoing lines had already been written when I chanced upon the following very important news. First, the text of the proclamation issued by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies wherein it promises its "support" to the new government, published by the ultra-conservative and ultra-bourgeois Paris newspaper *Temps* (March 20); secondly, excerpts from the speech delivered by Skobelev on March 14 before the Imperial Duma, reprinted in one of the Zurich newspapers (*Neue Züricher Zeitung*, first noon edition, March 21) from a report published in a Berlin newspaper (*National-Zeitung*).

The proclamation issued by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, if the text has not been distorted by the French imperialists, is a most remarkable document. It proves that the Petrograd proletariat, at the time it issued its proclamation, at any rate, was under the preponderant influence of the petty-bourgeois politicians. You will recall that I consider gentlemen of the type of Kerensky and Chkheidze to be politicians of the above-mentioned type.

In the proclamation we find two political ideas and two corresponding slogans:

First, the proclamation states that the government (the new one) consists of "moderate elements." A strange characterisation, utterly inadequate, and of a purely liberal, non-Marxian nature. I, too, am ready to admit that in a certain sense,—just in which sense will be demonstrated in my next letter,—any government at present, *i. e.*, after the completion of the first stage of the revolution, is bound to be "moderate." But under no circumstances must we conceal from ourselves and from the people the fact that this government wishes to prolong the imperialist war, that it is the agent of English capital, that it wants to restore the monarchy, and to strengthen the rule of the landowners and capitalists.

The proclamation declares that every democrat must "support" the new government and that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies requests and authorises Kerensky to participate in the Provisional

Government. The conditions are as follows: the promised reforms must be carried out while the war still lasts; freedom of "cultural" (only cultural?) development of nationalities (a purely Cadet and poverty-stricken programme) must be guaranteed; and a special committee for supervising the activities of the Provisional Government, the committee to consist of members of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and of the "military," must be formed.

The Supervising Committee, which really embodies the ideas and slogans of second order, we shall separately discuss later.

As for the appointment of Kerensky, the Russian Louis Blanc,* and the call to support the new government, these steps are a classic example of betrayal of the cause of the revolution and the cause of the proletariat. It was betrayals of precisely the same kind that destroyed a number of revolutions of the nineteenth century irrespective of how much the adherents of such a policy were sincere and devoted to Socialism.

The proletariat cannot and must not support a war government, a government pledged to restore the monarchy. In order to fight against reaction, to forestall the possible and probable attempts of the Romanovs and their friends to restore the monarchy and to gather a counter-revolutionary army, it is necessary not at all to support Guchkov, but to organise, develop, and strengthen a proletarian militia, to arm the people under the direction of the proletariat. Without this chief, basic, and radical measure, one cannot hope either to offer serious resistance to the restoration of the monarchy and to the attempts at taking away or curtailing the promised liberties, or to take a firm step on the road that leads to bread, peace, and freedom.

If Chkheidze, who together with Kerensky was a member of the first Provisional Government (the Duma Committee of thirteen), has not entered the second Provisional Government because of his loyalty to principles similar to those indicated above, then all honour to him. This should be frankly stated. Unfortunately, such an interpretation contradicts other facts, and most of all it contradicts the speech delivered by Skobelev who has always worked hand in hand with Chkheidze.

If we are to believe the above-named source, Skobelev said that the "social (evidently, Social-Democratic?) group and the work-

* A French reformist Socialist who sided with the suppressors of the Paris Commune.—*Ed.*

ers are quite remote from the aims of the Provisional Government," that the workers demand peace, that, if the war is continued, disaster in the spring is inevitable, that "the workers have entered into a temporary truce (*eine vorläufige Waffenfreundschaft*) with society (liberal society), although their political aims are as remote from those of society as heaven is from earth," and that the "liberals must renounce their senseless (*unsinnige*) war aims," etc.

This speech is a sample of what we designated above, in our quotation from the *Social-Democrat*, as "vacillation" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Liberals, as long as they remain liberals, cannot "renounce" the "senseless" war aims, particularly since these war aims are not determined by the liberals alone, but by Anglo-French finance capital, a world power measured by hundreds of billions. It is not the liberals whom one must "persuade," but it is the workers to whom one must explain why the liberals are perplexed, why they are bound hand and foot, why they conceal both the treaties concluded between tsarism and England, etc., and the arrangements made between Russian and Anglo-French capital, etc., etc.

When Skobelev tells us that the workers have entered into some kind of an agreement with the liberal groups, and does not protest against it, and does not explain to the workers, from the Duma tribune, its harmfulness to them, he thereby approves of this agreement, and this should not have been done.

Skobelev's direct or indirect, expressed or tacit, approval of the agreement entered into by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies with the Provisional Government, is a swing to the side of the bourgeoisie. Skobelev's statement that the workers demand peace, that their aims are as remote from those of the liberals as heaven is from earth, is a swing to the side of the proletariat.

Purely proletarian, truly revolutionary, thoroughly sound in its conception is the second political idea of the proclamation of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies now under our consideration, namely, the idea of creating a "Supervising Committee" (I do not know whether this is the correct name in Russian, it is a free translation from the French), namely, the idea of proletarian and soldier supervision over the actions of the Provisional Government.

That's the thing! This is worthy of workers who have shed their blood for freedom, for peace, and for bread for the people! This is a real step leading toward real guarantees against tsarism, against

monarchy, as well as against the monarchists Guchkov, Lvov and Co.! This is a sign that the Russian proletariat, regardless of everything, has gone ahead in comparison with the French proletariat of 1848, which had "invested" Louis Blanc with full power! This is proof that the instinct and the intelligence of the proletarian masses are not satisfied with declamations, exclamations, promises of reforms and liberties, are not satisfied with having a "Minister authorised by the workers," or with like tinsel show, but that they seek support where support really is,—in the armed masses of the population organised and led by the proletariat, the class-conscious workers.

This is a step along the right track, but only the first step.

If the "Supervising Committee" remains a purely parliamentary institution, of a purely political nature, *i. e.*, if it remains a commission that will "interrogate" the Provisional Government and receive answers from it, then it is nothing but a toy, then it does not amount to anything.

If, however, it leads toward the creation, immediately and unfailingly, of a really popular, really proletarian militia or workers' armed force, composed of men and women, who will not merely take the place of the police who have been removed and killed off, but render impossible the restoration of such a police by any monarchical-constitutional or democratic-republican government, either in Petrograd or anywhere else in Russia,—then the advanced Russian workers are actually moving toward new and great victories, toward putting an end to the war, toward the actual realisation of the slogan, which, according to the newspapers, was displayed on the banners of the cavalry regiments in Petrograd when they were demonstrating on the square in front of the Imperial Duma:

"Long Live the Socialist Republics of All Countries!"

My ideas concerning this proletarian militia will be presented in the next letter.

In it I shall try to show, on the one hand, that the creation of a popular militia under the leadership of the workers is the correct slogan of the day, meeting the tactical requirements of the unique transition period which the Russian Revolution (and the world revolution) is now going through; on the other hand, that in order to insure the success of such a workers' militia, it must, first, be a national, a universal mass militia, embracing the entire able-bodied population of both sexes; second, it must proceed to combine not

only police functions pure and simple, but also general governmental functions with military ones, and with control over social production and distribution of products.

N. LENIN.

Zürich, March 22, 1917.

P.S. I forgot to date the preceding letter as of March 20, 1917.

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THIRD LETTER

ON PROLETARIAN MILITIA

THE conclusion which I drew yesterday regarding the vacillating tactics of Chkheidze has been fully confirmed to-day, March 23, by two documents. The first is a despatch from Stockholm to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* quoting from the manifesto of the Central Committee of our party, the R.S.-D.L.P., in Petrograd. This document contains not a word about either the support of the Guchkov government or its overthrow: the workers and the soldiers are called upon to organise around the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, to elect representatives to the Soviet in order to fight against tsarism, for a republic, for an eight-hour working day, for the confiscation of landowners' lands and grain reserves, and chiefly for the termination of the plunderers' war. Particularly important and particularly timely is the very correct idea of our C.C. that to obtain peace, relations must be established among the *proletarians of all the warring countries.*

To hope for peace from the negotiations and communications of the bourgeois governments would be self-deception as well as deception of the people.

The second document is another despatch from Stockholm to another German paper (*Vossische Zeitung*) reporting a joint conference of the Chkheidze Duma fraction, the Trudoviks (*Arbeiterfraktion?*) and the representatives of fifteen labour unions held on March 15, and telling of the proclamation issued on the following day. Of the eleven points in this proclamation, the telegram quotes only three: the first, demanding a republic; the seventh, demanding peace and the immediate beginning of peace negotiations; and the

third, demanding "an adequate representation of the Russian working class in the government."

If this last point is quoted correctly, then I understand why the bourgeoisie lauds Chkheidze, I understand why to the praise by the English Guchkovites in the *Times*, which I quoted above, there has now been added the praise by the French Guchkovites in the *Temps*. This organ of French millionaires and imperialists writes on March 22: "The leaders of the workers' parties, and especially Mr. Chkheidze, exert all their influence to temper the demands of the working classes."

Indeed, the demand for workers' "participation" in the Guchkov-Miliukov government is a theoretical and political absurdity; to participate as a minority would mean to be a pawn; to participate "on equal terms" is impossible, for one cannot reconcile the demand to continue the war with the demand to conclude an armistice and open peace negotiations; to "participate" as a majority, one must have power to overthrow the Guchkov-Miliukov government. In practice, to demand "participation" is to pursue the worst kind of Louis Blancism, *i. e.*, to forget the class struggle and its actual conditions, to be allured by empty, high-sounding phrases, to spread illusions among the workers, to waste, in negotiations with Miliukov and Kerensky, precious time which should be used for creating an actual class force, a revolutionary force, a proletarian militia capable of inspiring confidence in all the poorest strata of the population which are an overwhelming majority, and of helping them to organise, helping them to fight for bread, for peace, and for freedom.

This error in the proclamation of Chkheidze and his group (I do not speak of the party of the O.C., the Organisation Committee, for in the sources at my disposal there is no mention of the O.C.)—this error seems the more strange when we consider that at the conference of March 15, Skobelev, Chkheidze's closest ideological ally, said, according to the newspapers: "Russia is on the eve of a second, a real (*wirklichen*) revolution."

Now this is a truth from which Skobelev and Chkheidze have failed to make any practical deductions. I cannot judge from here, my accursed exile, how near the second revolution is. Skobelev, who is there on the spot, can see it better. I therefore do not occupy myself with the questions for the answer to which I have no concrete data and can have none. I simply emphasise the fact

that a "stranger," *i. e.*, one who does not belong to our party, Skobelev, confirms the *very* conclusion that I arrived at in the first letter, namely: that the March revolution was only the *first stage* of the revolution. Russia is going through a unique historical period of *transition* from the first to the next stage of the revolution or, as Skobelev expresses it, to "a second revolution."

If we want to be Marxists and to learn from the experience of the revolutions the world over, we must try to understand just wherein lies the *uniqueness* of this transition period, and what are the tactics that follow from its objective peculiarities.

The uniqueness of the situation lies in the fact that the Guchkov-Miliukov government has won the first victory with unusual ease because of the three following main circumstances: 1. The help received from Anglo-French finance capital and its agents; 2. The help received from the upper layers of the army; 3. The fact that the entire Russian bourgeoisie had been organised in zemstvo and city institutions, in the Imperial Duma, in the war industries committees, etc.

The Guchkov government finds itself between the upper and nether millstones. Bound by capitalist interests, it is compelled to strive to prolong the predatory war for plunder, to protect the monstrous profits of the capitalists and the landlords, to restore the monarchy. Bound by its revolutionary origin and the necessity of an abrupt change from tsarism to democracy, finding itself under the pressure of the hungry masses that clamour for peace, the government is forced to lie, to shift about, to procrastinate, to make as many "declarations" and promises as possible (promises are the only things that are very cheap even in an epoch of insanely high prices), and to carry out as few of them as possible, to make concessions with one hand, and to withdraw them with the other.

Under certain conditions, if circumstances are most favourable to it, the new government, relying on the organising abilities of the entire Russian bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, may temporarily avert the final crash. But even under such conditions it cannot escape the crash altogether, for it is *impossible* to escape the claws of that terrible monster, begotten by world-capitalism—the imperialist war and famine,—without abandoning the whole basis of bourgeois relations, without resorting to revolutionary measures, without appealing to the greatest historical heroism of the Russian and the world proletariat.

Hence the conclusion: We shall not be able to overthrow the new government with one stroke or, should we be able to do so (in revolutionary times the limits of the possible are increased a thousandfold), we could not retain power, *unless we met* the splendid organisation of the entire Russian bourgeoisie and the entire bourgeois intelligentsia with an *organisation of the proletariat* just as splendid, leading the vast mass of the city and country poor, the semi-proletarians and the petty proprietors.

It matters little whether the "second revolution" has already broken out in Petrograd (I have stated that it would be absurd to attempt to estimate from abroad the actual tempo of its growth), whether it has been postponed for a time, or whether it has begun in isolated localities in Russia (there are some indications that this is the case)—*in any* case the slogan of the hour right now, on the eve of the revolution, during the revolution, and on the day after the revolution, must be—*proletarian organisation.*

Comrade-workers! Yesterday you displayed wonders of proletarian heroism when you overthrew the tsarist monarchy. Sooner or later (perhaps even now, while I am writing these lines) you will inevitably be called upon again to display wonders of similar heroism in overthrowing the power of the landowners and the capitalists who are waging the imperialist war. But you will not be able to win a *permanent victory* in this forthcoming "true" revolution, unless you display *wonders of proletarian organisation!*

The slogan of the hour is organisation. But organisation in itself does not mean much, because, on the one hand, organisation is always necessary, and, hence, the mere insistence on "the organisation of the masses" does not yet clarify anything, and because, on the other hand, he who contents himself with organisation only is merely echoing the views of the liberals; for the liberals, to strengthen their rule, desire nothing better than to have the workers refuse to go *beyond the usual "legal"* forms of organisation (from the point of view of "normal" bourgeois society), *i. e.*, to have them *merely* become members of their party, their trade union, their co-operative society, etc., etc.

The workers, guided by their class instinct, have realised that in revolutionary times they need an entirely different organisation, of a type above the ordinary. They have taken the right attitude suggested by the experience of our revolution of 1905 and by the Paris Commune of 1871: they have created a *Soviet of Workers' Deputies,*

they have set out to develop it, widen and strengthen it, by attracting to it representatives of the soldiers and no doubt of the hired agricultural workers, as well as (in one form or another) of the entire poor section of the peasantry.

To create similar organisations in all the localities of Russia without exception, for all the trades and layers of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population without exception, *i. e.*, for all the toilers and the exploited (to use an expression that is less exact from the point of view of economics but more popular), is our most important and most urgent task. I will note right here that to the peasant masses our party (whose specific rôle in the proletarian organisations of the new type I shall have occasion to discuss in one of the forthcoming letters) must recommend with special emphasis the organisation of Soviets of hired workers and petty agriculturists, such as do not sell their grain, those Soviets *to have no connection* with the prosperous peasants,—otherwise it will be impossible to pursue a true proletarian policy, in a general sense,* nor will it be possible correctly to approach the most important practical question involving the life and death of millions of people, *i. e.*, the question of an equitable assessment of food deliveries, of increasing its production, etc.

The question, then, is: What is to be the work of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies? We repeat what we once said in No. 47 of the Geneva *Social-Democrat* (October 13, 1915): "They must be regarded as organs of insurrection, as organs of revolutionary power."

This theoretical formula, derived from the experience of the Commune of 1871 and of the Russian Revolution of 1905, must be elucidated and concretely developed on the basis of the practical experience gained at this very stage of this very revolution in Russia.

We need revolutionary *power*, we need (for a certain period of transition) the *state*. Therein we differ from the Anarchists. The difference between revolutionary Marxists and Anarchists lies not only in the fact that the former stand for huge, centralised, communist production, while the latter are for decentralised, small-scale production. No, the difference as to government authority and the

* There will now develop in the village a struggle for the petty, and partly the middle, peasantry. The landowners, basing themselves on the well-to-do peasants, will lead them to submission to the bourgeoisie. We, basing ourselves on the hired agricultural workers and poor peasants, must lead them to the closest possible alliance with the proletariat of the cities.

state consists in this, that we stand *for* the revolutionary utilisation of revolutionary forms of the state in our struggle for Socialism, while the Anarchists are *against* it.

We need the state. But we need none of those types of state varying from a constitutional monarchy to the most democratic republic which the bourgeoisie has established everywhere. And herein lies the difference between us and the opportunists and Kautskians of the old, decaying Socialist parties who have distorted or forgotten the lessons of the Paris Commune and the analysis of these lessons by Marx and Engels.*

We need the state, but not the kind needed by the bourgeoisie, with organs of power in the form of police, army, bureaucracy, distinct from and opposed to the people. All bourgeois revolutions have merely perfected this government apparatus, have merely transferred it from one party to another.

The proletariat, however, if it wants to preserve the gains of the present revolution and to proceed further to win peace, bread, and freedom, must "*destroy*," to use Marx's word, this "ready-made" state machinery, and must replace it by another one, *merging* the police, the army, and the bureaucracy *with the universally armed people*. Advancing along the road indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organise and arm *all* the poorest and most exploited sections of the population, so that they *themselves* may take into their own hands all the organs of state power, that they *themselves* may constitute these organs.

The workers of Russia have already, with the very first stage of the first revolution, March, 1917, *entered* on this course. The whole problem now is to understand clearly the nature of this new course and courageously, firmly, and persistently, to continue on it.

The Anglo-French and the Russian capitalists wanted "only" to displace, or merely to "scare," Nicholas II, leaving the old machinery of the state—the police, the army, the bureaucracy—intact. The workers have gone further; they have smashed it. And now not only the Anglo-French, but even the German capitalists howl with

* In one of the forthcoming letters or in a special article I shall dwell in detail on this analysis as given particularly in Marx's *Civil War in France*, in Engels' preface to the third edition of that work, in Marx's letter dated April 12, 1871, and in Engel's letters of March 18-28, 1875, also on the complete distortion of Marxism by Kautsky in his 1912 polemics against Pannekoek relative to the so-called "destruction of the state."

rage and horror when they see Russian soldiers shooting their officers, some of whom were even supporters of Guchkov and Miliukov, as Admiral Nepenin, for example.

I have said that the workers have smashed the old state machinery. To be more precise. They *have begun* to smash it.

Let us take a concrete example.

The police of Petrograd and many other places have been partly killed off, and partly removed. The Guchkov-Miliukov government will not be able to restore the monarchy, nor even to retain power, unless it re-establishes the police as an organisation of armed men separated from and opposed to the people and under the command of the bourgeoisie. This is as clear as the clearest day.

On the other hand, the new government must reckon with the revolutionary masses, must humour them with half-concessions and promises, trying to gain time. Hence it agrees to half-measures: it institutes a "people's militia" with elected officers (this sounds terribly imposing, terribly democratic, revolutionary, and beautiful!). But . . . but . . . first of all, it places the militia under the control of the local zemstvo and city organs of self-government, *i. e.*, under the control of landowners and capitalists elected under the laws of Nicholas the Bloody and Stolypin the Hangman!! Secondly, though it calls it the "people's" militia to throw dust into the eyes of the "people," it does not, as a matter of fact call the people for *universal* service in this militia, nor does it compel the bosses and the capitalists to *pay* their employees the usual wage for the hours and the days they devote to public service, *i. e.*, to the militia.

There is where the main trick is. That is how the landowner and capitalist government of the Guchkovs and Miliukovs achieves its aim of keeping the "people's militia" on paper, while in reality it is quietly and step by step organising a bourgeois militia hostile to the people, first of "8,000 students and professors" (as the foreign press describes the present militia in Petrograd)—which is obviously a mere toy!—then, gradually, of the old and the new police.

Do not permit the re-establishment of the police! Do not let go the local government organs! Create a really universal militia, led by the proletariat! This is the task of the day, this is the slogan of the present hour, equally in accord with the correctly understood requirements of the further development of the class struggle, the further course of the revolution, and with the democratic

instinct of every worker, every peasant, every toiler, every one who is exploited, who cannot but hate the police, the constables, the command of landowners and capitalists over armed men who wield power over the people.

What kind of police do *they* need, these Guchkovs and Miliukovs, these landowners and capitalists? The same kind that existed during the tsarist monarchy. Following very brief revolutionary periods, *all* the bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic republics of the world organised or re-established precisely that kind of police,—a special organisation of armed men, separated from and opposed to the people, and in one way or another subordinated to the bourgeoisie.

What kind of militia do we need, we, the proletariat, all the toilers? A real people's militia, *i. e.*, first of all, one that consists of the entire population, of all the adult citizens of both sexes; secondly, one that combines the functions of a people's army with those of the police, and with the functions of the main and fundamental organ of the state system and the state administration.

To give more concreteness to these propositions, let us try a schematic example. Needless to say, the idea of laying out any "plan" for a proletarian militia would be absurd: when the workers, and all the people as a real mass, take up this task in a practical way, they will work it out and secure it a hundred times better than any theoretician can propose. I am not offering a plan—all I want is to illustrate my thought.

Petrograd has a population of about two million, more than half of which is between the ages of 15 and 65. Let us take a half—one million. Let us deduct one-fourth to allow for the sick or other instances where people cannot be engaged in public service for a valid reason. There still remain 750,000 persons, who, working in the militia one day out of every fifteen (and continuing to receive payment from their employers for this time), would make up an army of 50,000 people.

This is the type of "state" that we need!

This is the kind of militia that would be, in deed, and not only in name, a "people's militia."

This is the road we must follow if we wish to make impossible the re-establishment of a special police, or a special army, separated from the people.

Such a militia would, in ninety-five cases out of a hundred, be

composed of workers and peasants, and would express the real intelligence and the will, the strength and the authority of the overwhelming majority of the people. Such a militia would actually arm and give military training to the people at large, thus making sure, in a manner not employed by Guchkov, nor Miliukov, against all attempts to re-establish reaction, against all efforts of the tsarist agents. Such a militia would be the executive organ of the "Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies," it would enjoy the *full* respect and confidence of the population, because it would, itself, be an organisation of the entire population. Such a militia would change democracy from a pretty signboard, hiding the enslavement and deception of the people by the capitalists, into a real means for *educating the masses* so that they might be able to take part in *all* the affairs of the state. Such a militia would draw the youngsters into political life, training them not only by word, but by deed and *work*. Such a militia would develop those functions which belong, to use learned terms, to the welfare police, sanitary supervision, etc., by drawing into such activities all the adult women without exception. Without drawing the women into social service, into the militia, into political life, without tearing the women away from the stupefying domestic and kitchen atmosphere it is impossible to secure real freedom, it is impossible to build a democrcay, let alone Socialism.

Such a militia would be a proletarian militia, because the industrial and the city workers would just as naturally and inevitably assume in it the leadership of the masses of the poor, as naturally and inevitably as they took the leading position in all the revolutionary struggles of the people in the years 1905-1907, and in 1917.

Such a militia would guarantee absolute order and a comradely discipline practiced with enthusiasm. At the same time, it would afford a means of struggling in a real democratic manner against the crisis through which all the warring nations are now passing; it would make possible the regular and prompt assessment of food and other supply levies, the establishment of "universal labour duty" which the French now call "civil mobilisation" and the Germans—"obligatory civil service," and without which, as has been demonstrated, it is impossible to heal the wounds that were and are being inflicted by this predatory and horrible war.

Has the proletariat of Russia shed its blood only to receive

luxurious promises of mere political democratic reforms? Will it not demand and make sure that every toiler should see and feel a certain improvement in his life right now? That every family should have sufficient bread? That every child should have a bottle of good milk, and that no adult in a rich family should dare take extra milk until all the children are supplied? That the palaces and luxurious homes left by the Tsar and the aristocracy should not stand idle but should provide shelter to the homeless and the destitute? What other organisation except a universal people's militia with women participating on a par with the men can effect these measures?

Such measures *do not yet* constitute Socialism. They deal with distribution of consumption, not with the reorganisation of industry. They do not yet constitute the "dictatorship of the proletariat," but merely a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry." Theoretical classification doesn't matter now. It would indeed be a grave error if we tried now to fit the complex, urgent, rapidly unfolding practical tasks of the revolution into the Procrustean bed of a narrowly conceived "theory," instead of regarding theory first of all and above all as a *guide to action*.

Will the mass of Russian workers have sufficient class-consciousness, self-discipline and heroism to show "wonders of proletarian organisation" after they have displayed wonders of courage, initiative and self-sacrifice in direct revolutionary struggle? This we do not know, and to make conjectures about it would be idle, for such questions are answered *only* by life itself.

What we do know definitely and what we must as a party explain to the masses is that we have on hand an historic motive power of tremendous force that causes an unheard-of crisis, hunger and countless miseries. This motive power is the war which the capitalists of *both* warring camps are waging for predatory purposes. This "motive power" has brought a number of the richest, freest, and most enlightened nations to the brink of an abyss. It *forces* nations to strain all their strength to the breaking point, it places them in an insufferable position, it makes imperative the putting into effect not of "theories" (that is out of the question, and Marx had repeatedly warned Socialists against this illusion), but of most extreme yet practical measures, because *without* these extreme

measures there is death, immediate and indubitable death for millions of people through hunger.

That revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of the most advanced class can accomplish much when objective conditions demand extreme measures from the entire people, need not be argued. *This* aspect of the case is clearly seen and felt by every one in Russia.

It is important to understand that in revolutionary times the objective situation changes as rapidly and as suddenly as life itself. We should be able to adjust our tactics and our immediate objectives to the peculiarities of every given situation. Up to March, 1917, our task was to conduct a bold revolutionary-internationalist propaganda, to awaken and call the masses to struggle. In the March days there was required the courage of heroic struggle to crush tsarism—the most immediate foe. We are now going through a transition from the first stage of the revolution to the second, from a "grapple" with tsarism to a "grapple" with the imperialism of Guchkov-Miliukov, of the capitalists and the landowners. Our immediate problem is organisation, not in the sense of effecting ordinary organisation by ordinary methods, but in the sense of drawing large masses of the oppressed classes in unheard-of numbers into the organisation, and of embodying in this organisation military, state, and national economic problems.

The proletariat has approached this unique task and will approach it in a variety of ways. In some localities of Russia the March revolution has given the proletariat almost full power,—in others, the proletariat will begin to build up and strengthen the proletarian militia perhaps by "usurpation";—in still others, it will, probably, work for immediate elections, on the basis of universal suffrage, to the city councils and zemstvos, in order to turn them into revolutionary centres, etc., until the growth of proletarian organisation, the rapprochement of soldiers and workers, the stirring within the peasantry, the disillusionment of very many about the competence of the militarist-imperialist government of Guchkov and Miliukov shall have brought nearer the hour when that government will give place to the "government" of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

Nor must we forget that right near Petrograd there is one of the most advanced, actually republican, countries—Finland,—a country which from 1905 up to 1917, shielded by the revolutionary struggles in Russia, has developed a democracy by comparatively peaceful

means, and has won the majority of its population over to Socialism. The Russian proletariat will insure the freedom of the Finnish republic, even to the point of separation (there is hardly a Social-Democrat who would hesitate on this score now, when the Cadet Rodichev is so shamefully haggling in Helsingfors over bits of privileges for the Great Russians), and thus gain the full confidence and comradely aid of the Finnish workers for the all-Russian proletarian cause. In a difficult and great cause errors are unavoidable, nor shall we avoid them; the Finnish workers are better organisers, they will help us in this and, *in their own way*, bring nearer the establishment of a Socialist republic.

Revolutionary victories in Russia itself,—quiet organisational successes in Finland shielded by the above victories,—the Russian workers taking up revolutionary-organisational tasks on a new scale,—conquest of power by the proletariat and the poorest strata of the population,—encouraging and developing the Socialist revolution in the West,—this is the path that will lead us to peace and Socialism.

N. Lenin.

Zürich, March 24, 1917.
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FOURTH LETTER

HOW TO GET PEACE

I have just read (March 25) the following despatch sent to the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (No. 517, March 24) from Berlin:

"It is reported from Sweden that Maxim Gorki has sent both to the government, and to the Executive Committee [of the Soviet] an enthusiastically written greeting. He hails the victory of the people over the masters of reaction and calls upon all sons of Russia to help build the new Russian state edifice. At the same time he calls upon the government to crown its work of liberation with the conclusion of peace. It must not be peace at any price, he says; at the present moment Russia has less cause to strive for peace at any price than she has had at any other time. It must be a peace, he says, that would enable Russia to live honourably before the eyes of all the other peoples of the earth. Humanity has bled enough;

the new government would perform the greatest service to Russia as well as to the rest of humanity, if it succeeded in bringing about an early peace."

Thus reads the report of Gorki's letter.

One feels embittered on reading this letter which is permeated with ordinary philistine prejudices. The present writer on many occasions, in meetings with Gorki on the Island of Capri, warned him and reproached him for his political errors. Gorki parried these reproaches with his inimitably sweet smile and the candid admission: "I know that I am a bad Marxist. Moreover, all of us artists are a bit irresponsible." It is not easy to argue against that.

Gorki has, no doubt, great artistic talent that has been and will be of great use to the proletarian movement of the world.

But why should Gorki dabble in politics?

In my opinion Gorki's letter voices preconceived ideas that are exceedingly widespread not only among the petty bourgeoisie, but also among a section of the workers under the influence of that bourgeoisie. The entire strength of our party, every effort of the class-conscious workers, must be directed toward a stubborn, persistent, and many-sided fight against these false ideas.

The tsarist government began and waged the present war as a predatory, imperialist war for spoliation, to rob and crush the weak nations. The government of the Guchkovs and Miliukovs, which is a landowners' and capitalists' government, is forced to continue and wants to continue the very same kind of a war. To come to that government with the suggestion that it should conclude a democratic peace is equivalent to approaching proprietors of houses of ill fame with a sermon on virtue.

Let us explain what we mean.

What is imperialism?

In my pamphlet, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, which, before the revolution, had been submitted to the publishing firm "Parus," [Sail], accepted by it and announced in the magazine *Lietopis* [Annals], I have answered this question in the following way:

"Imperialism is capitalism in that phase of its development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired very great importance; in which the division of the world among international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories

of the earth among the greatest capitalist countries has been completed." (Chapter VII of the above-named pamphlet, announced in the *Lietopis*, when there was still a censorship, under the title: V. Ilyin,* *Recent Capitalism.*)

The whole thing reduces itself to the fact that capital has grown to enormous dimensions. Associations of a small number of the greatest capitalists (cartels, syndicates, trusts) manipulate billions and divide the whole world among themselves. The earth has been completely divided. The war has been brought on by the clash of two mighty groups of billionaires, the Anglo-French and the German, over the redivision of the world.

The Anglo-French group of capitalists wishes first of all to rob Germany by taking away its colonies (almost all of them have already been taken away)—then to rob Turkey.

The German group of capitalists wishes to grab Turkey for itself and to compensate itself for the loss of the colonies by seizing the neighbouring small states (Belgium, Serbia, Rumania).

This is the real truth, concealed under various bourgeois lies such as "war for liberation," "national" war, a "war for right and justice" and similar toy-rattles with which the capitalists always fool the common people.

Russia is fighting this war not with its own money. Russian capital is the partner of Anglo-French capital. Russia is fighting this war in order that it may rob Armenia, Turkey, Galicia.

Guchkov, Lvov, Miliukov, our present Ministers, are not leaders by accident. They are the representatives and leaders of the entire class of landowners and capitalists. They are bound by the interests of capital. Capitalists are as incapable of sacrificing their interests as man is incapable of lifting himself by his own bootstraps.

Secondly, Guchkov, Miliukov and Co. are bound by Anglo-French capital. They have been and still are conducting the war on borrowed money. They have promised to pay on the borrowed billions interest amounting to hundreds of millions yearly, to squeeze this tribute out of the Russian workers and the Russian peasants.

Thirdly, Guchkov, Miliukov and Co. are bound to England, France, Italy, Japan, and other groups of capitalist-robbers by direct treaties dealing with the predatory aims of the war. These treaties were concluded by Tsar Nicholas II. Guchkov, Miliukov and Co., taking advantage of the struggle of the workers against

* One of Lenin's pen names.—*Ed.*

the tsarist monarchy, seized power, but they have confirmed the treaties concluded by the Tsar.

This was done by the entire Guchkov-Miliukov government in a Manifesto which the Petrograd Telegraph Agency reported abroad on March 20: "The government" (of Guchkov and Miliukov), says the Manifesto, "aims to live up faithfully to all its treaty obligations to other countries." The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miliukov, made a similar declaration in his telegram to all the representatives of Russia abroad (March 18, 1917).

These treaties are all secret, and Miliukov and Co. do not wish to publish them for two reasons: (1) They are afraid of the people, which does not want any predatory war. (2) They are bound by Anglo-French capital, which demands that the treaties remain secret. But any one who has read newspapers and who has studied the subject knows that these treaties deal with the looting of China by Japan; of Persia, Armenia, Turkey (Constantinople in particular), and Galica, by Russia; of Albania, by Italy; of Turkey, the German colonies, etc., by France and England.

That is how things stand.

That is why there is just as much sense in asking the Guchkov-Miliukov government speedily to conclude an honest, democratic, neighbourly peace as there is in the appeal of the kindly village priest to the landlords and merchants to live a godly life, to love their neighbours, and to turn the right cheek when one strikes them on the left. The landowners and the merchants listen to the sermon, continue to oppress and rob the people and extol the priest's ability to console and pacify the peasants.

Precisely the same rôle—whether they realise it or not—is played by all those who in the present imperialist war come to the bourgeois governments with kindly proposals of peace. The bourgeois governments at times refuse to listen to such proposals and even prohibit them altogether, but sometimes countenance them and issue assurances right and left that what they are really fighting for is the speedy conclusion of a "most righteous" peace, and that the only one at fault is the enemy. All such proposals of peace and appeals to bourgeois governments turn out in fact to be a hoax upon the people.

The groups of capitalists who have drenched the earth in blood over the partition of territories, markets, and concessions, cannot conclude an "honourable" peace. They can conclude only a

dishonourable peace, a peace based on the division of spoils, on the partition of Turkey and the colonies.

Moreover, the Guchkov-Miliukov government is altogether opposed to peace at the present moment, for now its share of the spoils would include only Armenia and a part of Galicia, whereas its real aim is to seize Constantinople, and to regain from the Germans Poland, a country that was always inhumanly and disgracefully oppressed by tsarism. Furthermore, the Guchkov-Miliukov government is essentially the errand boy of Anglo-French capital that wants to retain the colonies wrested from Germany and also to compel Germany to hand back Belgium and a part of France. Anglo-French capital has helped the Guchkovs and the Miliukovs to remove Nicholas II, in order that the Guchkovs and the Miliukovs might help it to "vanquish" Germany.

What then is to be done?

In order to obtain peace (and particularly, to obtain a really democratic, a really honourable peace), it is necessary that the power of the state should be in the hands not of the landlords and the capitalists, but in the hands of the workers and the poorest peasants. The landlords and the capitalists constitute an insignificant minority of the population; the capitalists, as every one knows, are making enormous profits out of the war.

The workers and the poorest peasants constitute an overwhelming majority of the population. Far from enriching themselves out of the war, they are actually being ruined and starved. They are bound neither by capital nor by treaties with predatory capitalist gangs; they are in a position and sincerely wish to bring the war to an end.

Were the state power in Russia to belong to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, these Soviets and the All-Russian Soviet elected by them could and certainly would agree to put into effect the peace programme which our party (Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party), had outlined as far back as October 13, 1915, and printed in No. 47 of *Social-Democrat*, the Central Organ of our party (published then in Geneva on account of the oppressive tsarist censorship).

This peace programme would probably be as follows:

1. The All-Russian Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies (or the Petrograd Soviet which temporarily takes its place) would immediately declare that it was not bound by any

treaties concluded either by the tsarist monarchy or by the bourgeois governments.

2. It would forthwith publish all these treaties in order to expose to public obloquy the predatory aims of the tsarist monarchy and of all bourgeois governments, without exception.

3. It would immediately and openly propose to all the warring nations that an armistice be concluded forthwith.

4. It would immediately publish, so that every one might know, our, the workers' and the peasants', conditions for peace: the liberation of all colonies; the liberation of all dependent, oppressed, and non-sovereign peoples.

5. It would declare that it expected no good to come from the bourgeois governments and that it proposed to the workers of all the countries to overthrow them and to transfer all the state power to Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. It would declare that the billion-ruble debts contracted by the bourgeois governments for the purpose of carrying on this criminal and predatory war should be paid by the capitalists themselves, and that the workers and peasants refused to recognise these debts. To pay interest on these debts would mean to pay tribute to the capitalists for many, many years for having generously permitted the workers to kill one another over the division of spoils by the capitalists.

The Soviet of Workers' Deputies would say: Workers and peasants! Are you willing to pay hundreds of millions of rubles yearly to compensate the capitalists for a war that has been waged for the purpose of partitioning the African colonies, Turkey, etc.?

For the enforcement of such conditions of peace the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in my opinion, would agree to wage war against any bourgeois government and against all bourgeois governments of the world, because a war in that case would be a really just war and all the workers and toilers of all countries would work for its success.

The German worker sees now that the militarist monarchy in Russia is being replaced by a militarist republic, a republic of capitalists who wish to continue the imperialist war, who sanction the predatory treaties of the tsarist monarchy.

Judge for yourselves, can the German worker trust such a republic?

Judge for yourselves, can the war continue, can the domination of capitalists in the world continue, if the Russian people, always sustained by the living memories of the great revolution of 1905, wins complete freedom and places the entire state power in the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies?

Zürich, March 25, 1917.
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FIFTH LETTER

PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN ORGANISATION OF THE STATE

In the foregoing letters the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia have been outlined as follows: (1) To find the surest road leading to the next stage of the revolution or to the second revolution, which revolution (2) shall transfer the state power from the government of landowners and capitalists (the Guchkovs, Lvovs, Miliukovs, Kerenskys) to a government of the workers and poorest peasants. (3) The latter government must be organised on the model of the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, namely (4), it must shatter and completely eliminate the old government apparatus prevailing in all the bourgeois countries, the army, the police, the bureaucracy, putting in its place (5) not only a mass organisation but an organisation of a universally armed people. (6) Only such a government, with "such" a class composition (revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry) and such administrative organs (proletarian militia) will be able to solve successfully the exceedingly difficult, urgent, and most important problem of the moment, *i. e.*, the problem of obtaining peace, not an imperialist peace, not agreements among imperialist governments concerning the division of spoils by the capitalists and their governments, but a true, permanent, democratic peace which cannot be attained without a proletarian revolution in a number of countries. (7) In Russia the victory of the proletariat can be accomplished in the nearest future only if the workers are at the very outset supported by an overwhelming majority of the peasantry in its fight for the confiscation of all the lands owned by the landowners, and for the nationalisation of the

entire land, if we assume that the agrarian programme of the "104" * is still essentially the agrarian programme of the peasantry. (8) In connection with and on the basis of such a peasant revolution further steps of the proletariat in union with the poorest section of the peasantry are possible and necessary, steps directed towards the control of industry and the distribution of basic products, towards the establishment of "universal labour duty," etc. These steps are absolutely and imperatively demanded by the conditions created by the war, conditions which are likely to become even more aggravated in post-war times; in their entirety and in their development, these steps would represent the *transition to Socialism,* which in Russia cannot be realised immediately, directly, without transition measures, which, however, is perfectly realisable and urgently needed as a result of such transition measures. (9) The task of immediately organising in the villages separate Soviets of Workers' Deputies, *i. e.,* Soviets of hired agricultural workers, distinct from the Soviets of the rest of the peasant deputies, appears to be most urgent.

This, in short, is the programme we outlined, after taking stock of the class forces of the Russian and the world revolutions, as well as of the experience of 1871 and 1905.

Let us now attempt a general view of this programme as a whole, considering at the same time the manner in which it was approached by K. Kautsky, the greatest theoretician of the "Second" International (1889-1914) and the most conspicuous representative of the "centre" or the "swamp" group observable in all the countries, *i. e.,* the group that vacillates between the social-chauvinists and the revolutionary internationalists. Kautsky discussed this subject in his journal (*Die Neue Zeit,* April 6, 1917) in an article entitled, "The Prospects of the Russian Revolution."

"First of all," says Kautsky, "we must make clear to ourselves the problems confronting the revolutionary proletarian régime."

"Two things," continues the author, "are absolutely necessary to the proletariat: democracy and Socialism."

Unfortunately, this absolutely incontestable premise is propounded by Kautsky in an extremely generalised form, so that it really offers nothing and clarifies nothing. Miliukov and Kerensky,

* The programme for the nationalisation of the land presented in the Second Duma by 104 peasant deputies.—*Ed.*

members of the bourgeois and imperialist government, would readily subscribe to this general premise, the one to the former, the other to the latter part. . . .*

Written April 8, 1917.
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FAREWELL LETTER TO THE SWISS WORKERS

COMRADES, SWISS WORKERS:

Leaving Switzerland for Russia, in order to continue the revolutionary-internationalist work in our country, we, members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party united under the Central Committee (in distinction from another party bearing the same name but united under the Organisation Committee), wish to convey to you our fraternal greetings and expression of our profound comradely gratitude for your comradely attitude to the political emigrants.

If the avowed social-patriots and opportunists, the Swiss Gruetlians who, like the social-patriots of all countries, have deserted the camp of the proletariat for the camp of the bourgeoisie; if these people have openly called upon you to fight against the harmful influence of foreigners upon the Swiss labour movement; if the disguised social-patriots and opportunists who constitute a majority among the leaders of the Swiss Socialist Party have been pursuing similar tactics under cover, we think it necessary to declare that on the part of the revolutionary Socialist workers of Switzerland holding internationalist views we have met with warm sympathy, and have derived a great deal of benefit from our comradely relations with them.

We have always been particularly careful in dealing with those questions of the Swiss movement, acquaintance with which requires prolonged participation in the local movement. But those of us who have been members of the Swiss Socialist Party, the number hardly exceeding from ten to fifteen, have regarded it as our duty steadfastly to maintain our point of view, *i. e.*, the point of view of the "Zimmerwald Left," on general and fundamental questions pertaining to the international and Socialist movement, to fight

* Manuscript unfinished.—*Ed.*

determinedly not only social-patriotism, but also the line of the so-called "centre" to which belong R. Grimm, F. Schneider, Jacques Schmidt, and others in Switzerland, Kautsky, Haase, and the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* in Germany, Longuet, Pressemane, and others in France, Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald, and others in England, Turati, Treves, and their friends in Italy, and the above-mentioned party headed by the Organisation Committee (Axelrod, Martov, Chkheidze, Skobelev, and others) in Russia.

We have worked hand in hand with those revolutionary Social-Democrats of Switzerland who were grouped about the magazine, *Freie Jugend;* who formulated and circulated (in the German and French languages) the proposals for the holding of a referendum regarding a party conference in April, 1917, to take up the question of the party's attitude to the war; who at the convention of the Zürich Canton in Töss introduced the resolution of the young and the "Lefts" dealing with the question of war; who in March, 1917, issued and circulated in certain localities of French Switzerland a leaflet in the German and French languages entitled, "Our Conditions of Peace," etc.

We are sending our fraternal greetings to these comrades, with whom we have been working together, in agreement.

We have not, and we never had, the slightest doubt that the imperialist government of England will under no circumstances permit the return to Russia of Russian internationalists, who are irrevocably against the imperialist government of Guchkov-Miliukov and Co., and irrevocably against the continuation of the imperialist war by Russia.

In connection with this we must say a few words about our understanding of the tasks of the Russian Revolution. We deem this all the more necessary because through the Swiss workers we can and must address ourselves to the German, French, and Italian workers, who speak the same languages as the population of Switzerland that still enjoys the advantages of peace and the relatively greatest political freedom.

We remain unconditionally loyal to the declaration which we made in the central organ of our party, No. 47 of the *Social-Democrat* (October 13, 1915), published in Geneva. We stated there that should the revolution prove victorious in Russia, and should a republican government, a government intent on continuing the imperialist war, a war in league with the imperialist bour-

geoisie of England and France, a war for the purpose of seizing Constantinople, Armenia, Galicia, etc., etc., find itself in power, that we would be most resolutely opposed to such a government, that we would be against the "defence of the fatherland" in such a war.

A contingency approaching the above has now arisen. The new government of Russia, which has conducted negotiations with the brother of Nicholas II with regard to the restoration of the monarchy in Russia, and in which the most important and influential posts have been given to the monarchists Lvov and Guchkov, this government is trying to deceive the workers by the slogan, "the Germans must overthrow Wilhelm" (correct, but why not add: the English, the Italians, etc., must do the same to their own kings; and the Russians must remove their monarchists Lvov and Guchkov?). This government, by using the above slogan, while refusing to publish the imperialist, predatory treaties concluded by the Tsar with France, England, etc., and confirmed by the government of Guchkov-Miliukov-Kerensky, is trying to represent its imperialist war with Germany as a war of "defence" (*i. e.*, as a just war, legitimate even from the point of view of the proletariat)—is trying to represent a war for the defence of the bloodthirsty, imperialist, predatory aims of capital—Russian, English, etc.—as the "defence" of the republic (which does not yet exist in Russia, and which the Lvovs and the Guchkovs have not even promised to establish).

If there is truth in the latest telegraphic reports that the avowed Russian social-patriots (such as Plekhanov, Zasulich, Potresov, etc.) have entered into something like a rapprochement with the party of the "centre," the party of the "Organisation Committee," the party of Chkheidze, Skobelev, etc., on the basis of a common slogan: "While the Germans do not overthrow Wilhelm, our war remains a defensive war,"—if this is true, then we shall redouble our energy in carrying on the struggle against the party of Chkheidze, Skobelev, etc., which we have always waged against that party for its opportunist, vacillating, unstable political behaviour.

Our slogan is: No support to the government of Guchkov-Miliukov! He who says that such support is necessary in order to fight against the restoration of the monarchy deceives the people. On the contrary, it is this very government of Guchkov that has already conducted negotiations concerning the restoration of the monarchy in Russia. Only the arming of the proletariat can prevent Guchkov and Co. from restoring monarchy in Russia. Only the proletariat of

Russia and the rest of Europe, remaining loyal to internationalism, is capable of ridding humanity of the horrors of the imperialist war.

We do not close our eyes to the tremendous difficulties facing the revolutionary-internationalist vanguard of the Russian proletariat. In these times most sudden and swift changes are possible. In No. 47 of the *Social-Democrat* we gave a clear and direct answer to the question that naturally arises: What would our party do, if the revolution placed it immediately in power? Our answer was: 1. We would forthwith offer peace to all the warring peoples; 2. We would announce our peace conditions consisting of immediate liberation of all the colonies and all the oppressed and non-sovereign peoples; 3. We would immediately begin and carry out the liberation of all the peoples oppressed by the Great-Russians; 4. We do not deceive ourselves for one moment, we know that such conditions would be unacceptable not only to the monarchist but also to the republican bourgeoisie of Germany, and not only to Germany, but also to the capitalist governments of England and France.

We would be forced to carry on a revolutionary struggle against the German—and not only the German—bourgeoisie. *This struggle we would carry on.* We are not pacifists. We are opposed to imperialist wars over the division of spoils among the capitalists, but we have always considered it absurd for the revolutionary proletariat to disavow revolutionary wars that may prove necessary in the interests of Socialism.

The task that we outlined in No. 47 of the *Social-Democrat* is of gigantic proportions. It can be solved only by a long series of great class conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. However, it was not our impatience, nor our wishes, but the objective conditions created by the imperialist war that brought humanity to an impasse, that placed it in a dilemma: either to allow the destruction of more millions of lives and utterly ruin the entire European civilisation, or to hand over the power in *all* the civilised countries to the revolutionary proletariat, to realise the Socialist overturn.

The great honour of beginning the series of revolutions caused with objective inevitability by the war has fallen to the Russian proletariat. But the idea that the Russian proletariat is the chosen revolutionary proletariat among the workers of the world is absolutely alien to us. We know full well that the proletariat of Russia is less organised, less prepared, and less class-conscious than the proletariat of other countries. It is not its special qualities but rather

the special coincidence of historical circumstances that has made the proletariat of Russia for a certain, perhaps very short time, the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world.

Russia is a peasant country, it is one of the most backward of European countries. Socialism cannot triumph there immediately. But the present character of the country in the face of a vast reserve of land retained by noblemen landowners may, to judge from the experience of 1905, gives tremendous sweep to the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, and may make our revolution a prologue to the world Socialist revolution, a step forward in that direction.

In the struggle for these ideas, which have been fully confirmed by the experience of 1905 and the spring of 1917, in the struggle against all the other parties, our party was formed, and for these ideas we shall continue to struggle.

In Russia Socialism cannot triumph directly and immediately. But the peasant mass may bring the inevitable and ripe agrarian upheaval to the point of confiscating all the immense holdings of the landowners. This has always been our slogan and now the Petrograd and the Central Committees of our party, as well as the paper of our party, *Pravda*, have again brought it to the fore. The proletariat is going to fight for this slogan without closing its eyes to the inevitability of cruel class conflicts between the hired agricultural workers and the impoverished peasants closely allied with them on the one hand and the prosperous peasants whose position has been strengthened by the agrarian "reform" of Stolypin (1907-1914) on the other. One must not forget that 104 peasant Deputies in the first (1906) and second (1907) Dumas came forward with a revolutionary agrarian bill demanding the nationalisation of all lands and the management of such lands by local committees elected on the basis of complete democracy.

Such an overturn would, in itself, not be Socialism as yet. But it would give a great impetus to the world labour movement. It would greatly strengthen the position of a Socialist overturn in Russia, and of its influence on the agricultural workers and the poorest peasants. It would enable the city proletariat to develop, on the strength of this influence, a revolutionary organisation like the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, to replace by them the old instruments of oppression used by the bourgeois states, the army, the police, the bureaucracy; to put into effect, under the pressure of the unbearably burdensome imperialist war and its consequences, a

series of revolutionary measures to insure control over the production and distribution of goods.

The Russian proletariat single-handed cannot bring the Socialist revolution to a victorious conclusion. But it can give the Russian Revolution a mighty sweep such as would create most favourable conditions for a Socialist revolution, and would, in a sense, start it. It can help create more favourable circumstances for its most important, most trustworthy and most reliable collaborator, the European and the American Socialist proletariat, to join in the decisive battles.

Let the sceptics despair because of the temporary triumph within the European Socialist movement of such disgusting lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie as the Scheidemanns, the Legiens, the Davids and Co. in Germany; Sembat, Guesde, Renaudel and Co. in France; the Fabians and the Labourites in England. We are firmly convinced that this filthy froth on the surface of the world labour movement will be soon swept away by the waves of the revolution.

In Germany there is already a seething unrest of the proletarian masses that contributed so much to humanity and Socialism by their persistent, unyielding, sustained organisational work during the many decades of the period of European "calm" from 1871 to 1914. The future of German Socialism is represented not by the traitors, the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Davids and Co., nor by the vacillating and spineless ones, Haase, Kautsky and their ilk, who have been enfeebled by the routine of the period of political "peace."

The future belongs to that tendency which has given us Karl Liebknecht, which has created the "Spartacus group,"* which has carried on its propaganda in the Bremen *Arbeiterpolitik.*

The objective circumstances of the imperialist war make it certain that the revolution will not be limited to the first stage of the Russian Revolution, that the revolution will not be limited to Russia.

The German proletariat is the most trustworthy, the most reliable ally of the Russian and the world proletarian revolution.

When in November, 1914, our party had put forward the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" of the oppressed against the oppressors for the attainment of Socialism, this slogan was met with the hatred and malicious ridicule of the social-patriots and with the incredulous, sceptical, meek and expectant silence of the Social-

* The group of revolutionary internationalists who later formed the Communist Party of Germany.—*Ed.*

Democratic "centre." David, the German social-chauvinist and social-imperialist, called it "insane," while Mr. Plekhanov, the representative of Russian (and Anglo-French) social-chauvinism, of Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, called it "a dream farce" (*Mittelding zwischen Traum und Komoedie**). The representatives of the "centre" confined themselves to silence or to cheap little jokes about this "straight line drawn in empty space."

Now, after March, 1917, only the blind can fail to see that this slogan is correct. The turning of the imperialist war into civil war is becoming a fact.

Long live the proletarian revolution that is beginning in Europe!

Upon the instruction of the departing comrades, members of the R.S.-D.L.P. (united under the Central Committee), who have passed on this letter at a meeting held April 8, 1917.

N. LENIN.

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* Something between a dream and a comedy.—*Ed.*